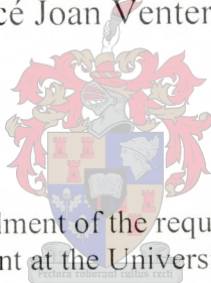


White Women's long “work” to Freedom

An analysis of the inconsistencies surrounding the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this assignment is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

Abstract

Since 1994 the new ANC led South African Government has introduced a number of policies that have been aimed at promoting equality in all spheres of life including the employment sector. Forming an important part of these policies has been the upliftment of women who were severely discriminated against under the former Apartheid government. But in recent years uncertainty has risen over whether white women should be included in these upliftment policies.

The research problem this thesis tries to address consists of two related problems. Firstly inconsistency seems to exist between the government's two different upliftment policies namely Affirmative Action and Transformation with regards to the inclusion of white women. The second problem is that inconsistency exists between people's opinions over whether white women should be included in policies aimed at promoting equality in the employment sector.

This thesis used both qualitative and quantitative methods to address the research problem. With regards to the first problem this thesis studied Affirmative Action legislation the most important being the Employment Equity Act as well government's Transformation policies the most important being the Black Economic Empowerment Act in order to identify the inconsistencies that exist between the two.

In order to address the second problem this thesis studies the qualitative arguments of academics for and against the inclusion of white women in Affirmative action. Two case studies are also included which identify the experiences of African and white women in the employment sector under Affirmative Action. Once this is done this thesis moves onto a quantitative method of measurement by study the results of the Markinor M-Bus survey conducted in 2004 in order to identify the opinions of the general South African population with regards to the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action.

The results of the M-Bus survey is also used to test the hypotheses introduced in this thesis. These hypotheses aim at identifying whether demographic variables affect South African's opinions on the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action. Six

demographic variables were studied namely race, gender, political party support, education, income and age.

This thesis clearly finds that Affirmative Action and Black Economic Empowerment do not correspond with each other with regards to the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action. While this thesis identifies that tension exists between academics supporting the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action and those opposing it, it argues that it is difficult to discern which group is right especially when this thesis tries to maintain an objective position. After studying the results of the M-Bus survey this thesis finds that overall the general South African population is seen to oppose the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action.

After testing the hypotheses this thesis also finds that age and gender do not affect South African's opinions with regards to the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action. They therefore do not play the role of independent variables. Education, income, political party support and race are found to play the role of independent variables. This thesis argues that these four demographic variables are all components forming a larger composite independent variable in the study. This thesis also argues that some of these demographic variables may play the role of more significant independent variables than others. Race is argued as being possibly the most significant independent variable within this composite independent variable affecting income, political party and education. It is also seen to affect gender and age. Education is also argued by this thesis as possibly being a more significant independent variable than income and political party support.

This thesis concludes by arguing that education could possibly replace race in the future as the most significant independent variable which affects the opinions of South Africans with regards to the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action. This would have a positive affect it could narrow the racial cleavage existing between race groups in South Africa today. This thesis also concludes by arguing that the inconsistency that exists between Affirmative Action and the Government's Transformation policies as well as the polarization of opinions between South Africans with regards to the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action has a negative affect on democratic consolidation.

Opsomming

Sedert 1994 het die nuwe Suid-Afrikaanse regering, onder leiding van die ANC, verskeie nuwe beleide in werking gestel wat daarop gemik is om gelykheid in alle sfere van die samelewing te bevorder, insluitende die indiensneming-sektor. 'n Belangrike deel van hierdie beleide is die opheffing van vroue, teen wie daar swaar gediskrimineer was tydens die Apartheid regering se bewind. Daar het egter in die onlangse verlede onsekerheid ontstaan oor die insluiting van blanke vroue in hierdie opheffingsbeleide.

Die navorsingsprobleem wat deur hierdie tesis aangespreek word bestaan uit twee verwante probleme. Eerstens blyk dit dat daar 'n teenstrydigheid bestaan tussen die regering se twee opheffingsbeleide, Regstellende Aksie en Transformasie, wat die insluiting van blanke vroue betref. Die tweede probleem is die meningsverskil wat bestaan in die openbare mening oor die insluiting van blanke vroue in beleide wat daarop gemik is om gelykheid te bevorder in die indiensneming-sektor.

Hierdie tesis het kwalitatiewe sowel as kwantitatiewe metodes gebruik om die navorsingsprobleem aan te spreek. Met betrekking tot die eerste probleem, het hierdie tesis die Regstellende Aksie wetgewing, wat die Wet op Gelyke Indiensneming sowel as die regering se Transformasie beleide, waarvan die Wets op Swart Ekonomiese Bemagtiging die belangrikste is, bestudeer om die teenstrydighede wat tussen die twee is te identifiseer.

Kwalitatiewe argumente, vir en teen die insluiting van blanke vroue in Regstellende Aksie, word bestudeer om die tweede probleem aan te spreek. Twee gevalle studies word ook ingesluit wat die ervarings van swart vroue en blanke vroue in die indiensneming-sektor onder Regstellende Aksie identifiseer. Wanneer dit afgehandel is, beweeg die tesis na 'n kwantitatiewe metode van meting deur die resultate van die Markinor M-Bus meningsopname, wat in 2004 plaasgevind het, om die algemene Suid-Afrikaanse publiek se opinies met betrekking tot die insluiting van blanke vroue in Regstellende Aksie te peil.

Die resultate van die M-Bus meningsopname word ook gebruik om die hipoteses wat deur hierdie tesis aangebied word te toets. Hierdie hipoteses mik daarna om uit te vind of demografiese veranderlikes Suid-Afrikaners se menings oor die insluiting van blanke vroue in Regstellende Aksie beïnvloed. Ses demografiese veranderlikes word bestudeer, naamlik ras, geslag, ondersteuning van 'n politieke party, opvoeding, inkomste en ouderdom.

Daar word duidelik bevind dat Regstellende Aksie en Swart Ekonomiese Bemagtiging nie met mekaar korrespondeer ten opsigte van die insluiting van blanke vrouens in Regstellende Aksie nie. Terwyl hierdie tesis die spanning tussen akademici wat die insluiting van blanke vroue steun en die wat daarteen gekant is erken, stel dit voor dat dit moeilik is om vas te stel watter groep reg is, veral wanneer daar gepoog word om 'n objektiewe beskouing te handhaaf. Namate die resultate van die M-Bus meningsopname bestudeer is, vind hierdie tesis dat die algemene Suid-Afrikaanse publiek gekant is teen die insluiting van blanke vroue in Regstellende Aksie.

Nadat die hipoteses getoets is, vind hierdie tesis dat ouderdom en geslag nie Suid-Afrikaners se menings oor die insluiting van blanke vroue in Regstellende Aksie beïnvloed nie. Geslag en ouderdom speel daarom nie die rol van onafhanklike veranderlikes nie. Opvoeding, inkomste, ondersteuning van 'n politieke party en ras speel wel die rol van onafhanklike veranderlikes. Hierdie tesis voer aan dat hierdie vier demografiese veranderlikes almal komponente vorm van a groter, saamgestelde onafhanklike veranderlike. Verder word daar aangevoer dat sommige van hierdie demografiese veranderlikes 'n belangriker rol as ander mag speel. Ras word voorgestel as die mees belangrike onafhanklike veranderlike binne hierdie saamgestelde veranderlike, wat inkomste, ondersteuning van politieke party en opvoeding beïnvloed. Dit blyk ook dat geslag en ouderdom beïnvloed word. Daar word ook aangevoer dat opvoeding moontlik 'n belangriker onafhanklike veranderlike is as inkomste en ondersteuning van 'n politieke party.

Die tesis word afgesluit met die argument dat opvoeding in die toekoms ras as die mees belangrike onafhanklike veranderlike kan vervang betreffende die invloed op menings van Suid-Afrikaners ten opsigte van die insluiting van blanke vroue in Regstellende Aksie. Dit sal 'n positiewe invloed hê in die sin dat dit die

rasseverdeeldheid wat steeds in Suid-Afrika heers kan verminder. Verder kom hierdie tesis tot die gevolgtrekking dat die teenstrydighede wat tussen Regstellende Aksie en Swart Ekonomiese Bemagtinging bestaan sowel as die polarisasie onder Suid-Afrikaners se menings ten opsigte van die insluiting van blanke vroue in Regstellende Aksie, 'n negatiewe uitwerking op demokratiese konsolidasie het.

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List of Acronyms

AA: Affirmative Action

ANC: African National Congress

BEE: Black Economic Empowerment

CEDAW: Convention for the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women

DA: Democratic Alliance

EEA: Employment Equity Act

FF: Freedom Front

GCIS: Government Communications and Information Services

GEAR: Growth Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR)

ID: Independent Democrats

IFP: Inkatha Freedom Party

NNP: New National Party

PAC: Pan African Congress

RDP: Reconstruction and Development Programme

UDM: United Democratic Movement

Chapter One

Introduction

Since 1994 many people have believed that the hard times that hit South Africa during the Apartheid years were over. When the African National Congress (ANC) came into power they made it clear that they wanted to destroy the legacy left behind by the previous dispensation. This legacy had many different facets and the ANC was therefore faced with numerous challenges.

During Apartheid Africans¹ as well as coloureds and Indians were denied the franchise, they were also socially excluded and their neglect was a matter of state policy. Society was highly polarised with ninety five percent of the poor being Africans (Government Communications and Information Service (GCIS), 2003: 1).

Governance was largely defined by a national security doctrine with little respect for the rule of law. The state also became more and more isolated over the years having to rely on extra-judicial measures to sustain itself (GCIS, 2003: 2).

Up to 1994 large parts of the country lived under a state of war and assassinations and bombings of political opponents were everyday occurrences. When one looked at the economy it was just as isolated as the government and by the early 1990's growth, which had been below one percent per annum, came to a standstill. Another economic problem was the high levels of inflation that equaled ten percent per annum (GCIS, 2003: 2).

The first truly democratic elections took place in April 1994 and finally the whole population, which included the majority group namely black South Africans, were able to elect a government who truly represented their feelings and looked after their interests.

¹ Due to the Employment Equity Act, No 55 of 1998 referring to black people as Africans this thesis will do the same in order to remain consistent.

By 1995 and 1996 economic growth was seen to be once again kick started and was a modest, but respectable, three percent (Baden, Hasim & Meintjies, 1998: 52).

In 1996 a multi-party negotiation process also finalized a constitution that was and still is hailed as one of the world's most liberal constitutions. It was a constitution dedicated to dignity, freedom and equality as well as making the meeting of socio-economic rights a key area of concern (Mngxitame, 2001: 1). Democracy was seen to be in full swing and was on the right course necessary for achieving full consolidation. The abuses of Apartheid were clearly believed to be a thing of the past.

These victories were however overshadowed by a number of serious problems. Firstly, the human rights violations inflicted by the Apartheid government were not merely implemented by law, but also support for these violations was ingrained in the beliefs and attitudes of many South Africans. The abolishing of these laws and the introduction of the new constitution did not change the racist attitudes many people still had towards other groups. This was not only white racist attitudes towards the Africans, but also African racist attitudes towards whites. Secondly, despite the constitution, as well as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which was introduced in 1994, being dedicated to meeting the basic needs of the people for example jobs, land, housing, water, electricity, transport and so forth; poverty was rife especially amongst the African population.

With this inequality in mind one can look at the results of the Income and Expenditure surveys conducted by Statistics South Africa. The Gini Coefficient calculated for 1995 was 0.59. If cognisance be taken that the position of number one on the Gini Coefficient is regarded as being the most unequal a country can be, one realizes that South Africa was extremely unequal. The 1996 World Development Report found that only Brazil had a higher level of inequality over South Africa (Budlender, 2001: 1).

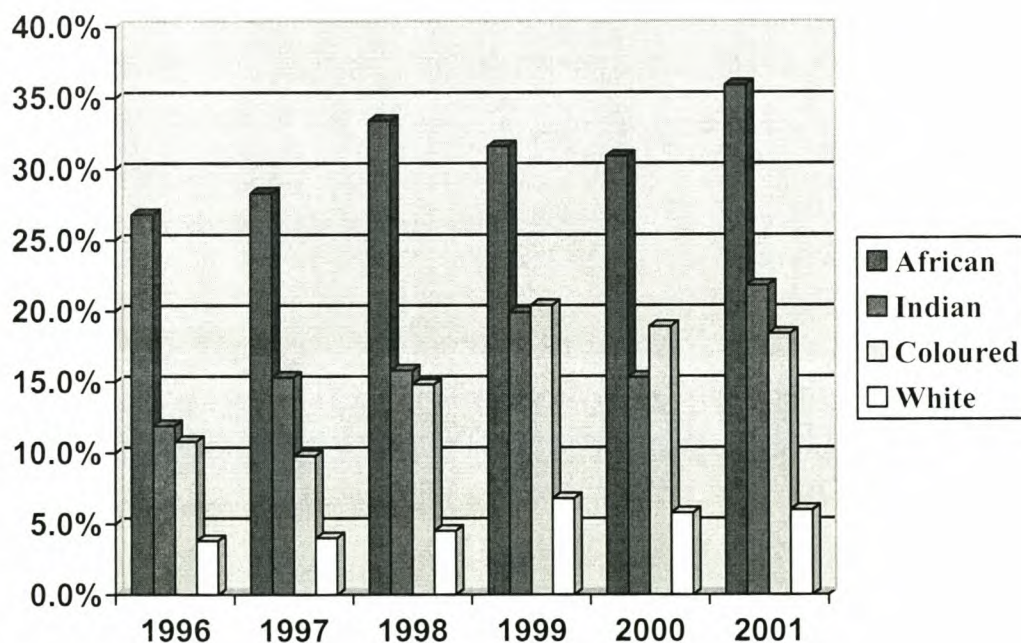
Hand in hand with high levels of poverty and inequality was unemployment. The latter had been one of the main challenges facing the ANC from the time of coming into power in 1994, yet surveys show that unemployment levels have actually risen rather than fallen meaning the government's promises had not been fulfilled. The

October Household Surveys that were conducted between 1996 and 1998 by Statistics South Africa measured unemployment using two different definitions, namely official unemployment and expanded unemployment.

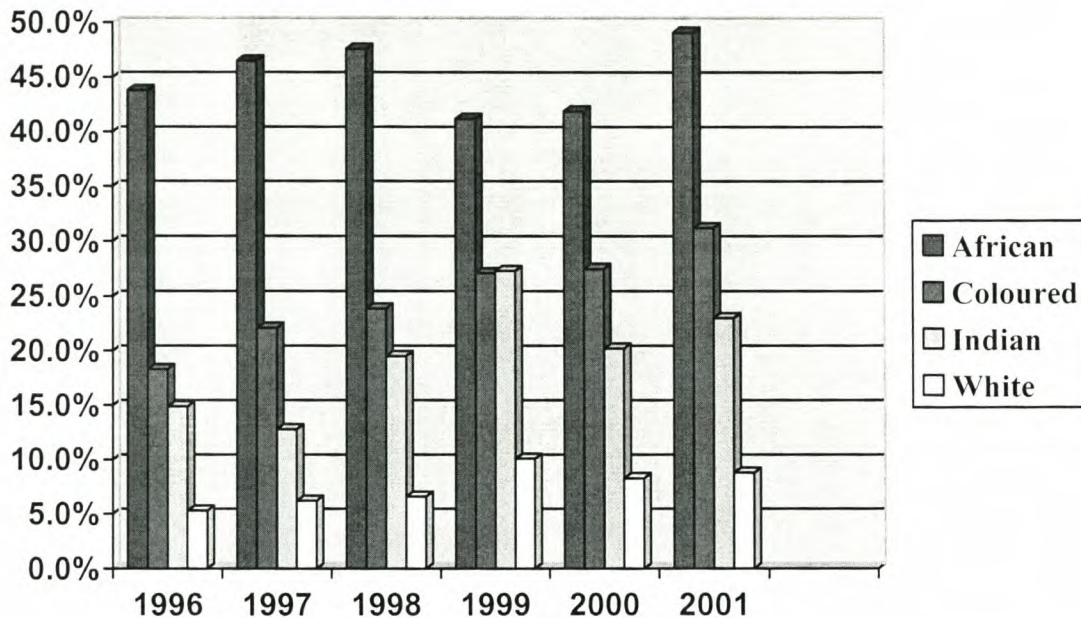
Official unemployment is used by most organizations and institutions when measuring unemployment and it refers to the people in the economically active population who did not work seven days prior to the interview, who want to work and are available to work within a week of getting a job and who have taken active steps to look for work or to start some form of self employment in the four weeks prior to the interview. The expanded definition of unemployment leaves out the last point, in other words, it includes discouraged job seekers whom have not actively looked for work (Statistics South Africa, 1999: 9).

The two graphs below show the seriousness of the unemployment problem. Graph 1.1 shows the percentage of official unemployment according to population groups from 1996 to 2001, while Graph 1.2 shows expanded unemployment percentages according to population groups from 1996 to 2001.

Graph 1.1: Official Unemployment (%) according to race in 1996 to 2001



(Stats South Africa, 1999, 2001 & 2002).

Graph 1.2: Expanded Unemployment (%) according to race groups for 1996 to 2001

(Stats South Africa, 1999, 2001 & 2002).

The reason for showing results from both the official and expanded definitions is to highlight the huge difference in results. One can see in 1996 the official unemployment for Africans was 26.8% whereas the expanded unemployment for the same group was 43.8%. Many argue that the expanded definition for unemployment is too broad thereby inflating the unemployment percentages unrealistically, but others argue that especially in the South African context this definition is highly relevant. The reason for this is that many people cannot seek employment due to their life circumstances. This is especially relevant with regards to those living in rural areas as there is a lack of job opportunities and people do not have the resources for transport to search for employment. Because of this Statistics South Africa continue to use both definitions when conducting their surveys (Statistics South Africa, 1999: 9).

After looking at the graphs one can see that unemployment was a problem that worsened between 1996 and 1998 yet the Growth Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR) that replaced the RDP in 1996 promised to create a competitive fast-growing economy that would create sufficient employment for all work seekers. It estimated that around 400 000 job opportunities would be created per annum yet by 2003 it was estimated that almost a million job opportunities had been lost to GEAR (Chikulo, 2003: 5).

Apart from high unemployment one can also see from the graphs the huge inequalities between the different race groups existed. Looking at the more conservative percentages of official unemployment rates one could see that by 1998 the percentage of Africans that were unemployed were 33.4% while only 4.5% of whites were unemployed. Coloureds and Indians were positioned in the middle with 15.8% and 14.8% being officially unemployed respectively.

With this inequality in mind as well as the inequality shown above with regards to access to infrastructure the government realized that the inequality created by the past had not disappeared with the adoption of the new Constitution. Drastic measures needed to be implemented in order to end these serious inequalities. The government felt the increasing pressure as those that were suffering the most, in terms of lack of infrastructure and unemployment, were the majority African population who had voted them into power.

Mbeki therefore introduced a policy of transformation in South Africa, which according too him, had the main objective of establishing a society characterized by the 'equality of the national groups' and 'by a proper racial balance in all sectors, classes and social orders' (Hudson, 2000: 94).

Affirmative Action legislation of which the Employment Equity Act passed in 1998 and put into effect in 1999 is one of the most prominent pieces of legislation passed by the government in order to promote equality. In short this legislation aimed to place those, who were previously disadvantaged due to Apartheid, first in line when it comes to receiving jobs. Those included in this previously disadvantaged bracket are Africans, coloureds, Indians, women and people with disabilities.

This legislation was not interpreted well by many different groups who accused it of basically being reverse Apartheid due to white men having to take the back seat when it came to employment. Others argued that it was vital in order to reduce the large inequalities that plagued the country especially the African-white divide.

Irrespective of the criticism and praise the government felt that passing this legislation, would put the country on the road to achieving a society where equality would be a dominant characteristic.

1.1 Research Problem

Gender discrimination especially in the employment sector has had a long and rocky history in South Africa. After 1994 gender inequality became recognised as an important issue in mainstream debate and the ruling ANC party explicitly committed itself to gender equity (Baden, Hasim & Meintjies, 1998: 13).

However gender biases still persisted with the following factors that were seen to still exist in 1998 contributing to this discrimination. Firstly, women had a much higher level of unemployment in comparison to men. The 1998 October Household survey showed that the official unemployment rate for women was 30.2% while for men it was 22.9% (Statistics South Africa, 2000: 8).

Another factor was the gender disparities in earnings, for workers of similar educational levels, as well as disparities in employment related benefits. Thirdly biases in access to skills training and apprenticeships also existed and lastly entrenched gender segmentation by industry and occupation, within the labour market, giving women a narrower range of options and less remuneration (Baden, Hasim & Meintjies, 1998: 53).

Because of these factors, as well as many others, the ANC government did not hesitate when deciding to include women in their Affirmative Action legislation. The important point to made here is that white women were obviously then also classified

as previously disadvantaged as they also suffered under the previous highly patriarchal Apartheid regime.

But their inclusion has been met with a large amount of opposition especially from the African population. An example of opposition was seen at the Western Cape's Black Economic Empowerment Conference which was held in May 2003. The director of procurement for the City of Cape Town Mabela Satekge called for the status of white women who were seen as historically disadvantaged to be 'urgently reviewed' (Fisher, 2003:1).

Others argue that white women should receive the benefits of affirmative action as they also suffered under Apartheid. Even though they were allowed more liberties than the African, Indian and coloured populations they also faced a number of barriers especially with regards to their career aspirations.

The debate surrounding the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action policies takes an interesting turn when one looks at the Transformation policies and the legislation that has been past to put these policies into action.

It is clear that these policies only concentrate on the advancement of Africans in the employment sector thereby ignoring the advancement of white women. This is obviously a problem as it undermines the aims of Affirmative Action policies where white women are included in the promotion of equal job opportunities.

The research problem this thesis therefore tries to address consists of two related problems. Firstly there seems to be an inconsistency between Transformation policies and Affirmative Action legislation with regards to white women as these Transformation policies seem to discriminate against the latter group. The second problem is the inconsistency between people's opinions as to whether white women should be included in the designated groups who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action. These problems are related as the inconsistency that exists between Affirmative Action and Transformation policies causes uncertainty as to whether white women should be included in Affirmative Action.

Despite the research problem being divided into two related problems the bulk of this thesis will be dedicated to answering the latter problem mentioned above. This thesis will try to study the inconsistency between people's opinions and will try to answer the question of whether white women have a claim to be included in Affirmative Action policies. After this has been done the thesis will then discuss the inconsistency between Affirmative Action and Transformation as it has a direct affect on the solutions to the first problem.

1.2 Research Objective and Questions

As stated above a large degree of contention exists between various actors when it comes to white women's inclusion in Affirmative Action legislation as well as their exclusion from Transformation policies and legislation.

One of the objectives of this thesis is to study the legislation and policies geared towards equality in the workplace not only to understand it, but also in order to better understand the position of white women in South Africa's employment sector. Included in this study will be the arguments for and against Transformation policies and the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action legislation by a number of academics.

After reaching an understanding of white women's position in the workplace this thesis will move onto its main objective which is to see how the general South African population feels about the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action policies.

There are a number of research questions that will be asked in order to achieve the above objectives. These questions are divided in three different sets according to the Chapter that is seen to answer each set.

The first set of questions that will be asked begins with, "What does the Government's Transformation policies and legislation as well as Affirmative Action legislation entail?" The second question asks: "How do these policies and legislation

differ from one another as well as contradict each other”? These will be answered by studying the various pieces of legislation created for the upliftment of those previously disadvantaged in the employment sector.

The second set of research question that will be asked is “What are the reasons for the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action policies”? and “Do these reasons justify white women’s inclusion in this legislation”? These two questions will be answered by studying the arguments put forward by a number of academics.

The final set of research questions that shall be asked are the most important and they are answered by the Markinor M-BUS survey conducted in 2004. These questions are “Does the general South African population agree with the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action?” and secondly “Do certain demographic variables affect how they feel about white women being included in Affirmative Action?”

1.3 Conceptualization

A number of important concepts need to be conceptualized in order for one to understand the numerous arguments highlighted in this thesis.

Firstly, one needs to understand the concept of gender discrimination as this term is seen to be used as the main justification for the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action policies. Gender discrimination can be defined as any act, omission, conduct, condition, rule, policy, requirement, situation or practice, which has the effect or may have the effect of creating or sustaining systemic forms of domination and disadvantage which perpetuate and re-enforce unequal gender relations and prevent women from being able to develop their full human potential and participate fully in society (Gender Project, Community Law Centre, University of the Western Cape, 1999: 4)

In order to grasp the arguments for and against the government’s Transformation policies one needs to understand the concepts of liberty and equality due to them forming the basis of all the policies and legislation created by the ANC government.

Liberty in the traditional sense can be conceptualized as being allowed to think and act as one pleases, people have the freedom to pursue their own life goals. In modern democracies liberty does not stand alone but rather is seen to be intertwined with equality. This can be seen in the South African constitution where each person is given the same space and opportunity as everyone else to pursue their life goals. The key concept here is that people can pursue their life goals to the extent that they do not harm or impede the ability of someone else to do the same (Stacey, 2003: 133,135,136).

Therefore, in summary, South African citizens can enjoy the fullest liberty to realize their aims and preferences compatible with an equal liberty for others (Hudson, 2000: 94). Another important characteristic of this form of liberalism is that the state is expected to remain neutral on the issue of the good and individuals must be given equal degrees of liberty and freedom from interference to pursue whatever they wish too (Stacey, 2003: 136).

However it would obviously be wrong to ignore the large inequalities that exist in South Africa and to just merely allow people to pursue their life goals over those who are prevented from achieving theirs due to their life circumstances and position in society. The constitution deals with this by making room for the advancement of specific groups who are in disadvantaged positions, but this is not done to the detriment of others (Stacey, 2003: 133,134).

With this in mind one can conceptualize the ANC government's transformation project. This project consists of a number of redistributive programmes and special opportunities that have been created exclusively for Africans an example being Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) legislation (Hudson, 2000: 95).

This transformation goes against the above notion of liberalism. This can be seen in the following statement that was released by the ANC in one of their discussion papers.

“The democratic movement must resist the liberal concept of ‘less government’, which while being presented as a philosophical approach towards the state in general is in fact aimed specifically at the weakening of the democratic state. The purpose of this offensive is precisely to deny the people the possibility to use the collective strength and means concentrated in the democratic state to bring the transformation of society.” (Hudson, 2000: 93).

As one can see the ANC believes that the state should play an important role with regards to individual liberties. The government also feels that individual autonomy should not exist, but the population should rather be striving for a collective goal through collective actions (Hudson, 2000: 97).

They view the transformation project as a common good yet some liberal analysts such as Peter Hudson (2001) and Richard Stacey (2003) argue that it basically allows for the majority to bulldoze over the minorities. These Transformation policies are only seen to benefit the African majority while the minorities are greatly disadvantaged by them. This view of collective action therefore goes directly against the above view of liberalism which is enshrined in the constitution. The controversy surrounding these transformation policies is studied to a greater extent by this thesis especially with regards to white women.

1.4 Hypotheses

Although this thesis will try to answer a large number of research questions that have already been listed above, many of the answers to these questions merely provide an important theoretical background for the hypotheses that need to be tested.

The hypotheses that this thesis will examine are only concerned with the responses of the M-BUS survey conducted by Markinor in 2004 where South Africans gave their opinions on the white women, Affirmative Action and Transformation policies debate. These hypotheses therefore correlate with the answers to the final set of research questions that were mentioned.

More specifically the hypotheses put forward in this thesis will tie in directly with the final question mentioned in the last set of questions namely whether demographic variables affect the respondent's answers.

Before the hypotheses are listed the concept Demographics needs to be defined. Demographics are seen to be the characteristics that define a particular group of people. It can be defined in greater detail as the description of the vital statistics or objective and quantifiable characteristics of an audience or population. Demographic designators include age, marital status, income, family size, occupation, and personal or household characteristics such as age, sex, income, or educational level (Quirks, 2003: 1).

The hypotheses this thesis will test will include six of these demographic variables namely race, gender, political party affiliation, income, education and age. These will be divided into further subgroups which are discussed in Chapter four.

With regards to all the hypotheses one can see that the dependent variable used in this study is derived from the Markinor survey. Three statements dealing with white women and Affirmative Action were included in the survey; these were given in the form of statements with response categories ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). A neutral category was included namely neither disagree or agree (3), the statements given were the following:

- 1) White women should be removed from the category of 'designated groups' who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action.
- 2) To exclude white women from the ranks of the 'designated groups' would be an act of anti-white racism.
- 3) Affirmative Action policies that make it possible for white women to gain preferential treatment works against Transformation

For the purposes of this study only the first statement will be studied and it is therefore seen to be the dependent variable in the study. The dependent variable is therefore:

- South African's opinions on whether white women should be excluded from the preferential policies of Affirmative Action.

As already mentioned the hypotheses below are seen to test six demographic variables in order to see how they affect the above dependent variable. These demographics of race, gender, income, education and age are therefore tested in order to see if they act as independent variables in the study.

The following are the hypotheses this thesis will test:

The first hypothesis tests the general South African population's opinions with regards to the issue:

- I. "The South African population opposes the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action."

The next hypothesis tests to see if race can be classified as an independent variable:

- II. A person's race correlates with the extent of agreement/disagreement with the statement that "white women should be removed from the category of 'designated groups' who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action."

The next demographic variable that is tested by the following hypothesis and two sub-hypotheses to see if it is an independent variable is political party support:

- III. A person's political party support correlates with the extent of agreement/disagreement with the statement that "white women should be removed from the category of 'designated groups' who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action."

- III.I "ANC supporters support the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action to a greater extent than DA supporters."

III.II “Political parties whose majority supporters are Africans support the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action to a much greater extent than political parties whose majority supporters are not African.”

Income is tested by the following hypothesis to see if it acts as an independent variable:

IV. A person's monthly income correlates with the extent of agreement/disagreement with the statement “white women should be removed from the category of ‘designated groups’ who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action.”

The following hypothesis is seen to test if education acts as an independent variable:

V. A person's level of education correlates with the extent of agreement/disagreement with the statement “white women should be removed from the category of ‘designated groups’ who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action.”

Age is the next demographic variable tested to see if it acts as an independent variable:

VI. A person's age correlates with the extent of agreement/disagreement with the statement ‘white women should be removed from the category of ‘designated groups’ who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action.”

The following hypothesis is seen to test whether gender can be classified as an independent variable:

VII. “A person's gender correlates with the extent of agreement/disagreement with the statement that “white women should be removed from the category of ‘designated groups’ who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action.”

The next five hypotheses are more specific as they test whether the above demographic variables also play a role as independent variables when studying the responses of female South Africans:

- VIII. “White women support the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action to a greater extent than white men.”
- IX. “African women support the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action to a greater extent than white women.”
- X. “Female ANC supporters oppose the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action to a greater extent than female DA supporters.”
- XI. “Women who have matriculated as well as those who have received a tertiary education oppose the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action more so than those who have had no schooling or have only completed primary schooling.”
- XII. “White women who earn higher incomes support the inclusion of white women in affirmative action to a greater extent than African women who earn lower incomes.”

1.5 Research Design

This thesis shall use both quantitative and qualitative methods in order to try and reach a conclusion with regards to the research questions as well as the hypotheses.

The qualitative methods used will firstly be articles and books describing transformation, Affirmative Action and the role of South African women in the work place. Included in this will also be articles containing arguments for and against white women being included in Affirmative Action as well as whether Transformation discriminates against white women.

Two case studies shall also be included in the study. Both of these will look at specific experiences of South African women in the workplace since Affirmative Action was implemented. The first case study looks at the experiences of African women in Parliament. The second case study will look particularly at the experiences of white women under Affirmative Action within the South African Revenue Service (SARS). The information for this case study will be supplied by an informant who will remain anonymous. This case study will be highly beneficial as it will give a fairly accurate idea of whether white women within an actual working environment have benefited from Affirmative Action legislation and how positively or negatively the government's new Transformation policies have affected this.

These qualitative methods shall try to answer the first two sets of questions mentioned above.

Lastly, a quantitative method of measurement shall also be used in the study, this being the results of a survey done by Markinor during the February and March of 2004. The analysis of the results of this study will make up the bulk of this thesis as these will obviously solve the hypotheses listed above. The M-Bus survey is seen to be nationally representative of both the urban and rural population with 2000 being interviewed from the former and 1500 from the latter. The data was acquired through personal interviews with respondents who were over 16 years of age and both men and women were equally represented in the sample.

What is important to note is that the findings represented in this thesis have been weighted and projected onto the national demographic profile and due to this it can be asserted to be nationally representative, therefore the terms respondents and the general South African population are seen to be interchangeable when used in this thesis. The sampling error for this poll in general is between 0.72% and 1.66%.

When studying the three questions above one can see that they contain the concepts of "designated groups", "whites" and "Affirmative Action" and all these terms have exactly the same meaning as assigned to them by the Employment Equity Act, no. 55 of 1998.

By using both quantitative and qualitative methods one will be able to understand various aspects of the white women/Affirmative Action debate and will then be able to make informed decisions when trying to answer the research questions and the hypotheses.

Now that one understands the research objective and questions, the hypotheses as well as the methodology one can see that the study is descriptive in nature. It firstly describes the various policies and legislation that promote equality in employment and it then describes how white women are included in certain of these policies as well as how some of these policies, to be exact the Transformation policies discriminate against white women. It then also describes the opinions of the South African population towards the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action.

1.6 Limitations and Delimitations

There are a number of limitations and delimitations that need to be taken into account. Firstly one of the limitations is that the Affirmative Action legislation as well as the new Transformation policies is a fairly recent phenomenon with the first piece of legislation being introduced in 1998. This means that South Africa has not had that much time to show the effects of the above legislation which makes a study of these effects fairly difficult.

However this legislation being relatively new can in itself also serve as a delimitation as not many studies or work has been conducted around it therefore any new work consists of fresh ideas that doesn't really have to face any restrictions or competition from previous studies.

Another delimitation is the M-BUS survey done by Markinor in 2004. The results of this survey add an entirely new but important facet to this study namely the opinion of the public. This increases the depth of the study enormously without increasing its complexity as the survey has already been done so the study merely has to analyze the results.

This survey also poses an important limitation namely that there are only three items or questions included that are seen to measure the dependent variable in the study. This limits the study greatly as one can question if these items were substantial enough to measure this variable.

1.7 Chapter Outline

Apart from the Introduction (Chapter One) and the Conclusion (Chapter Five) the thesis will consist of three chapters each concentrating on a different aspect of the study.

Chapter Two will study the legislation promoting employment equality and will first look at Affirmative Action legislation in greater depth, the most important being the Employment Equity Act. This, as well as the role gender plays in this legislation, will be explained in greater detail. The Transformation policies as well as other laws that seem to contradict Affirmative Action the most important being the Black Economic Empowerment Act, will then be studied.

This Chapter will therefore try to answer the first set of questions mentioned: “What does the Government’s Transformation policies and legislation as well as Affirmative Action legislation entail?” and “How do these policies and legislation differ from one another as well as contradict each other?”

Chapter Three will focus on qualitative arguments supporting white women’s inclusion in Affirmative Action as well as those arguing against their inclusion. This chapter will, amongst other things highlight the inequality and discrimination experienced by white women during the apartheid years. It will also look at arguments made by African feminists as well as other academics against white women being seen as previously disadvantaged. It will also contain smaller case studies of African women’s lives during the Apartheid years.

This Chapter will therefore answer the second set of questions namely “What are the reasons for the inclusion of white women in Affirmative action policies?” and “Do these reasons justify white women’s inclusion in this legislation?” as it will look at arguments made by academics for and against the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action. The two case studies discussed above namely African women in Parliament and white women in the South African Revenue Service will also be included in this chapter

The fourth chapter will study and discuss the results from the M-Bus survey regarding the two questions mentioned above namely “Does the general South African population agree with the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action?” and secondly “Do certain demographic variables affect how they feel about white women being included in Affirmative Action?” This Chapter will therefore be the most important as it will try to test all fourteen hypotheses mentioned above.

This will be followed by Chapter Five, which is the conclusion and will summarize the findings of the questions mentioned above as well as the outcome of the hypotheses.

Chapter Two

An analysis of the Equal Opportunity Legislation in the South African Employment Sector

2.1 Introduction

This Chapter aims to study the legislation promoting employment equality and will first look at Affirmative Action legislation in greater depth, the most important being the Employment Equity Act. This will be explained in greater detail as well as the role gender plays in this legislation. The Transformation policies will then be analysed as well as other laws that seem to contradict Affirmative Action the most important being the Black Economic Empowerment Act. By doing so this Chapter aims to highlight the inconsistencies that exist between the various pieces of legislation aimed at employment equality and will therefore address the first component of the Research problem discussed in Chapter one.

During the Apartheid years political and economic power and privilege lay in the hands of the whites. This power was executed through various policies and pieces of legislation that left deep scars of inequality and poverty in the economic, education, health and social welfare sectors. The various measures practiced by the Apartheid government created a divided society that was sustained by a system of separate and unequal development and segregation in all spheres of life (Chikulo, 2003: 2).

The important point that needs to be made is that the policies and pieces of legislation introduced by the Apartheid government were the key tools used to entrench racial discrimination. One of the main areas where this racial discrimination was entrenched by these tools was the economic sector.

The Apartheid government concentrated on suppressing African entrepreneurship in order to defend the interests of the white economy. The Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945 only allowed small businesses selling the daily essentials for living to operate in urban African townships. The government also controlled the allocation of business sites in African areas. African businesses took a further blow in 1963 by the 'one-man-business' policy that

stipulated that Africans were not allowed to operate more than one business. They were also not allowed to form partnerships in the hope of initiating larger business ventures (Engdahl & Hauki, 2001: 9).

This legislation also blocked the establishment of African controlled financial institutions, wholesale businesses and manufacturing industries in white areas. 'Job reservation' policies also ensured a white monopoly by restricting Africans from jobs in certain skilled trades as well as from holding positions above a certain level. This obviously resulted in the technical and managerial skills needed to operate businesses as well as manage companies being withheld from the African population (Engdahl & Hauki, 2001: 9).

But the Apartheid government did not only discriminate on the grounds of race many of their policies and pieces of legislation were geared towards gender discrimination. The Wage Act No. 45 of 1957 permitted the differentiation between categories of employees on the grounds of sex whilst simultaneously laying the basis for discriminatory wage determinations on the basis of sex. The Public Service Act 111 of 1984 allowed for discriminatory outcomes on the basis of sex as well (Thompson, 1993: 22).

Disabled persons in the employment sector were also discriminated against during Apartheid but this was mainly through omission rather than commission although a few legislative provisions did exist in this area but not half many as the legislation aimed at race and sex discrimination.

Since 1994 the ANC has also utilised policies and pieces of legislation as their main tools for achieving their various goals. With regards to the employment sector the main piece of legislation created by the new government has been the Employment Equity Act that aimed at giving the groups mentioned in Chapter one greater opportunities in terms of employment. Policies and legislation that have followed the Employment Equity Act have been The ANC's Transformation policies as well as Black Economic Empowerment legislation. These last two policies introduced by the ANC seem to contradict the original Employment Equity Act with regards to which groups are entitled to receiving benefits in the job sector. These various policies and the contradictions will now be discussed.

Before discussing the ANC's employment legislation and policies, two main socio-economic policies will be mentioned namely the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) and the Growth Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR) as they form the basis on which the employment policies rest.

2.2 RDP and GEAR

The RDP introduced in 1994 by the ANC government was an ambitious programme of economic reconstruction and social improvement. This programme sought to attain socio-economic growth and basic needs delivery while at the same time addressing the legacy of injustice (Chikulo, 2003, 4).

Several dimensions needed to be addressed to achieve socio-economic transformation and the fundamental goals of the RDP were the following:

- to create a strong, dynamic and balanced economy in order to eliminate poverty and meet the basic needs of every South African;
- develop human resource capacity of all South Africans;
- ensure that no one suffers racial or gender discrimination in hiring, promotion or training situations;
- develop a prosperous, balanced regional economy in Southern Africa ; and
- democratize the state and society

The RDP was viewed as the cornerstone of government development policy but problems were already apparent in 1995. The economy was not growing at the envisaged rates which in turn impacted negatively on the RDP causing it to fail in meeting its socio-economic delivery goals (Chikulo, 2003, 5).

The ANC government incorporated aspects of the RDP Programme into the GEAR strategy, which then eventually replaced the RDP in 1996 though it concentrated more on economic growth than socio-economic delivery.

The main goals of GEAR were:

- A competitive fast-growing economy that creates sufficient jobs for work seekers;
- A redistribution of income and opportunities in favour of the poor;
- A society in which sound health, education and other services are available to all; and
- An environment in which homes are secure and places of work productive.

GEAR believed that the re-distributive role of the RDP was to be attained by a more circuitous route where improvement in the living conditions of those previously discriminated against would be due to revitalised economic performance; which in turn would be due to the creation of a competitive fast growing economy (Chikulo, 2003: 6).

Despite GEAR's concentration on the strengthening of the economy, one can see that it as well as the RDP aimed at uplifting the lives of those that had suffered under Apartheid. One way of doing this was through policies that gave those previously discriminated against greater opportunities in the employment sector.

2.3 Employment Equity Act

A precursor to the Employment Equity was Section nine of the Constitution dedicated to equality shown below:

(1) Everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit of the law.

(2) Equality includes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms. To promote the achievement of equality, legislative and other measures designed to protect or advance persons, or categories of persons, disadvantaged by unfair discrimination may be taken.

(3) The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth.

(4) No person may unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds in terms of subsection (3). National legislation must be enacted to prevent or prohibit unfair discrimination.

(5) Discrimination on one or more of the grounds listed in subsection (3) is unfair unless it is established that the discrimination is fair.

(Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996: Section 9).

The Employment Equity Act was passed in 1998 but it only came into effect at the end of 1999 and its main overarching objective was to ensure equitable representation in all occupational categories and levels in the South African workforce (Msimang, 2001:4).

In more specific terms the Act promotes fair treatment by prohibiting unfair discrimination which is defined as “no person may unfairly discriminate, directly or indirectly, against an employee, in any employment policy or practice, on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, family responsibility, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, HIV status, conscience, belief, political opinion, culture, language and birth” (Employment Equity Act, Chapter 2, Section 6 (1))

The Act can be divided into two main areas firstly, the prohibition of discrimination in employment and secondly the implementation of Affirmative Action measures.

With regards to the first area the prohibition of discrimination, the Act covers the following areas in which discrimination is prohibited.

- Recruitment procedures, advertising and selection criteria;
- Appointments and the appointment process;
- Job classification and grading;
- Remuneration, employment benefits and terms and conditions of employment;
- Job assignments;
- The working environment and facilities
- Training and development;
- Performance evaluation systems;
- Promotion;

- Transfer;
- Demotion;
- Disciplinary measures other than dismissal; and
- Dismissal

(Employment Equity Act, Chapter one, Section 1)

This part of the Act puts anti-discrimination clauses to all South African employers while the second part namely Affirmative Action only applies to so-called designated employers.

Affirmative Action shall now be discussed in greater detail.

2.4 Affirmative Action

The first part of the Equal Opportunity Act aims at overcoming the obstacles that stand in the way of achieving equality of unemployment yet the new government felt that this was not enough to right the wrongs of the Apartheid government. They therefore added the second area to the Act namely Affirmative Action (AA) that is seen to be ‘measures designed to ensure that suitably qualified people from designated groups have equal employment opportunities and are equally represented in all occupational categories and levels in the workforce of designated employers (Employment Equity Act, 1998: Chapter 3, section 15 (1)).’

In other words preferential treatment is required to be given by designated employers to those that fall into the designated groups.

For the purposes of Affirmative Action designated employers are defined as employers employing 50 or more employees. Employers employing fewer than 50 employees, but with a total annual turnover equal to or exceeding the applicable annual turnover of a small business, in terms of a schedule in the Act, are designated as well. An employer can also be a designated employer by being bound by a collective agreement, which appoints it as a designated employer in terms of the Employment Equity Act. Lastly, all municipalities and organs of state, with a few exceptions, are also classified as designated employers (Engdahl & Hauki, 2001: 33).

Affirmative Action classifies the following as falling into the “designated groups” due to them being previously discriminated under Apartheid.

- Africans
- coloureds
- Indians
- women of all races
- the disabled from all races

The inclusion of women and the disabled of all races is important as it highlights the fact that the new ANC government, when creating the legislation, was not concentrating solely on race yet they did drive home the fact that this new legislation’s main aim was ensuring that that the African population, making up 86% of the South African population, were given the opportunity to begin contributing to the economy.

Section 15 (2) of the Act requires these designated employers to implement the following measures:

- a. measures to identify and eliminate employment barriers, including unfair discrimination, which adversely affect people from designated groups;
- b. measures designed to further diversity in the workplace based on equal dignity and respect for all people;
- c. making reasonable accommodation for people from designated groups in order to ensure that they enjoy equal opportunities and are equitably represented in the workforce of a designated employer;
- d. subject to subsection (3), measures to
 - i. ensure the equitable representation of suitably qualified people from designated groups in all occupational categories and levels in the workforce; and
 - ii. retain and develop people from designated groups and to implement appropriate training measures

(Employment Equity Act, chapter 3 section 15)

The Act also states that a person may be suitably qualified for a job through a number of different factors some of which are formal qualifications, prior learning, relevant experience or the capacity to acquire, within a reasonable time, the ability to do the job. An employer is required to determine whether a person is suitable for the job in terms of anyone or a combination of the above factors. In making this decision the Act stipulates that a person may not discriminate solely on the grounds of lack of relevant experience (Employment Equity Act, chapter 3 section 20 (3-5)).

The ANC government argues that Affirmative Action represents a conscious effort to correct the racial and gender imbalances in South Africa in a principled and effective way. They argue that seven basic principles underlie this legislation.

Firstly responsibility is extremely important with regards to Affirmative Action. Not every form of injustice should be treated with AA legislation. Therefore a special form of responsibility to intervene with Affirmative Action should exist (ANC, <http://www.anc.org/ancdocs/policy/affirm.html>: 9)

Equity is the second principle as the main objective is always to ensure basic fairness, it is not about revenge. The third principle is inclusivity all South Africans need to be involved in promoting AA policies and the government should not merely steamroll in with their ideas (ANC, <http://www.anc.org/ancdocs/policy/affirm.html>: 9).

Security is the fourth principle and Affirmative Action must be securely located in the constitution where everyone knows where they stand legally. This legislation should therefore not be subjected to the whims of government officials. Proportionality is the fifth principle where the means used and the time frame must be proportionate to the ends to be achieved (ANC, <http://www.anc.org/ancdocs/policy/affirm.html>: 9).

Accountability is the second last principle on which Affirmative Action rests and it means that the process must be transparent, non-corrupt and accountable to public opinion, Parliament and the courts. The final principle is flexibility as Affirmative Action needs to be tailored to take into account of the particular in-house culture (excluding racism and sexism)

of the enterprise being transformed (ANC, <<http://www.anc.org/ancdocs/policy/affirm.html>>: 9).

When introduced Affirmative Action offered a solution to the problem of the largely unemployed previously disadvantaged population but many argued that it contradicts the first half of the Employment Equity law that prohibits discrimination on the basis of race. In order to prevent this from becoming an issue the Act states that the measures taken in pursuit of Affirmative Action do not constitute unfair discrimination.

The issue of unfair discrimination of those not included in designated groups became more complex with the introduction of the ANC's transformation policies and Black Economic Empowerment as these are seen to overlook women and the disabled who are not African. Transformation policies and Black Economic Empowerment will now be discussed.

2.5 Transformation

Affirmative Action became the target of severe criticism when first introduced especially being accused of being focused on race. The government replied by pointing out that the only group left out of Affirmative Action was white, non-handicapped men who only made up approximately 7% of the population.

Yet despite the inclusion of other minority groups the new government was quick to point out that this inclusion had its problems. The ANC argued that many companies arguing that they support Affirmative Action would only employ white women and disabled whites meaning that Africans would then lose out. The ANC therefore made it clear that despite the inclusion of the other two groups the main beneficiaries of Affirmative Action were to be Africans (Innes, 1993: 42).

Supporting this argument was the introduction of Transformation policies which increased the 7% not included in empowerment initiatives due to the removal of white women and white disabled people from the designated groups.

The objective of Transformation according to President Mbeki is the establishment of a society characterized by the “equality of the national groups” by a proper “racial balance” or representativity” throughout all its sectors, classes and status orders (Hudson, 2000: 4).

It recognizes that South Africa consists of a number of clusters of individuals and that a determinate mode of co-existence of these is constitutive of an ethically satisfactory social order. The ANC believes that to attain these objectives one must “transform the entire fabric of social life” and in order to do so one needs preferential treatment of African citizens (Hudson, 2000: 4).

At the 50th National ANC Conference held in December 1997 the ANC government discussed their motives and goals with regards to their Transformation policies.

At this Conference the ANC argued that the reason for the creation of Transformation policies was because of the large injustices created by the past. The prime beneficiaries of these policies were to be the African majority due to them being the main victims of the apartheid system and because they bore the main brunt of the apartheid struggle (ANC, 1997: 7).

Even though the majority of the African population was forced to live in poverty, due to the racial discrimination within South African capitalism a small group of African workers mobilized, who due to their class position and social existence were at the head of the struggle for freedom (ANC, 1997: 8).

The ANC government argued at the conference that this working class was to be one of the main beneficiaries of the Transformation policies. The ANC also argued that because of its organisation and role, and objectively because of its numbers and position in the production process, this working class was critical to the transformation process (ANC, 1997: 8).

The ANC also pointed out another two groups who were to be beneficiaries of Transformation policies. These were the coloured and the Indian population. The ANC argued at the conference that despite these two groups receiving “bigger crumbs from the masters table”, they were essentially excluded from the court of the privileged, and they themselves played a critical role in the struggle.” (ANC, 1997: 8).

The importance of the government's involvement in Transformation was also highlighted at the conference. They argued that it was critical for the government to help guide the African owners, as well as other owners of capital, to promote social transformation mindful of the fact that such transformation would serve at least their long-term interests and those of society as a whole. This applied as much too local financial, manufacturing, mining, agricultural and other entrepreneurs as it did to foreign direct investors (ANC, 1997: 9).

An important point the ANC did make at the conference was that the position of the African working class mentioned above who were to play a central role in transformation process, did create the danger of social distance between them and the poorer African classes. The continual promotion of African men would mean that African women would be left behind. The ANC therefore highlighted their commitment to the inclusion of the poorer African classes including African women and that the richer African classes would merely lead the social transformation process from which the entire African population would benefit (ANC, 1997: 9).

One of the main tools used to achieve the ANC Transformation policies is Black Economic Empowerment.

2.6 Black Economic Empowerment

Although many people argue that Affirmative Action, Employment Equity and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) are the same thing there is a certain distinction that ensures they differ substantially. This distinction is the exclusion of white women and disabled whites from BEE.

From the very beginning BEE has seen to be on the ANC government's agenda with its importance increasing in recent years under Thabo Mbeki's leadership. Black Economic Empowerment can be described as a process aimed at redressing the imbalances in the ownership and control of South Africa's economic resources through increasing African participation at all levels of the economy. This shall be done by job creation, poverty alleviation, specific measures to empower African women, education, skills transfer and

management development, meaningful ownership and access to finance to conduct business (Engdahl & Hauki, 2001: 12).

Under President Mbeki the government has begun using both legislative leverage and its buying power to promote African economic empowerment. The sectors targetted for empowerment are broadcasting, gaming, IT and telecommunications, construction, transport, energy, mining, asset management in the financial services sector, municipal services, education, health care and the defence industry (Engdahl & Hauki, 2001: 12).

The Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Act was created to establish a legislative framework for the promotion of African economic empowerment. The Act defines “black” as the generic term which means Africans, Indians and Coloureds (Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Act, 2003: Definitions). It therefore defines blacks the same way the Employment Equity Act does yet unlike the latter Act it does not include white women and the disabled whites to receive benefits along with blacks. The following are stipulated by the Act as its objectives:

- a. promote economic transformation in order to enable meaningful participation of black people in the economy;
- b. achieve substantial change in the racial composition of ownership and management structures of existing and new enterprises;
- c. increase the extent to which communities, workers, collective enterprises and cooperatives own and manage existing and new enterprises;
- d. promote investment programmes that lead to broad-based and meaningful participation in the economy by black people in order to achieve sustainable development and general prosperity; and
- e. develop rural communities and empower local communities by enabling access to economic activities, land, infrastructure, ownership and skills.

(Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Act, 2003: Section 2)

The Black Economic Empowerment Commission that was established in 1998 played a large part in the creation of the Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Act. They

also recommended in a comprehensive report released in September 2000 that the following targets be adhered to:

- 30% of productive land should be in black hands
- black equity participation in each sector of the economy should be increased to at least 25%
- black people should hold at least 25% of the shares of companies listed on the JSE
- at least 40% of non-executive and executive directors of companies listed on the JSE should be black
- at least 50% of state-owned enterprises and government procurement should go to black companies
- at least 30% of the private sector should be black-owned companies
- at least 40% of senior and executive management in private sector companies (with more than fifty employees) should be black.

The BEE Commission proposed that these targets should be met within ten years with black women accounting for 35% of all targets and disabled black people a further 5% (South Africa.info, 3).

2.7 Conclusion

As one can see, like the Apartheid government, the ANC government has made legislation the cornerstone of their main policy objectives.

One can see that the RDP programme and the GEAR strategy highlighted the government's commitment to uplifting those that had been discriminated against before 1994.

Yet the legislation dealing with upliftment has changed in nature since 1994. Initial legislation like the Employment Equity Act pointed out that other members of other races such as white women were also discriminated against under Apartheid and they therefore were included in the designated groups who would receive preferential treatment.

Legislation introduced after this, such as the Broad Based Black Economic Act, has moved away from the belief that other minority groups should be eligible for preferential treatment only concentrating on the upliftment of black people which include Africans, Indians and coloureds.

These two pieces of empowerment legislation therefore contradict one another yet that becomes a minor problem when one sees that the first area of the Employment Equity Act where discrimination is prohibited largely contradicts Affirmative Action as well as Black Economic Empowerment who both discriminate on the grounds of race. This is especially evident in the case of BEE where that minority group of whites, both men and women are now left out in the cold.

Chapter Three

Academic Arguments on the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action

3.1 Introduction

“It is vitally important that all structures of government, including the President himself, should understand this fully: that freedom cannot be achieved unless women have been emancipated from all forms of oppression. All of us must take this on board, that the objectives of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) will not have been realized unless we see in visible and practical terms that the condition of the women of our country has radically changed for the better, and that they have been empowered to intervene in all aspects of life as equals with any other member of society.”

These words were spoken by former President Nelson Mandela at the opening of the first democratically elected Parliament in 1994, highlighting the seriousness of the Government’s aim to promote gender equality in the new democratic South Africa (CEDAW, 1997: 1).

It has been no secret that women were severely discriminated against under the Apartheid regime and there had been widespread consensus to do all it takes to ensure that this discrimination in all its possible forms is to be eradicated.

One of the ways the Government has aimed to do this is through Affirmative Action legislation that has been discussed in at great length in the preceding Chapter.

But as already discussed this legislation recognizes the fact that white women were also previously discriminated against yet as already shown new Transformation policies seem to ignore this, concentrating solely on the upliftment of African men and women.

The inconsistency that exists between government’s legislation and policies is seen to extend to academic arguments as well. This lack of consistency between the

arguments of academics has given rise to a major debate as to whether white women should be included in Affirmative Action or not. This debate has grown over the years and a number of academics have voiced their opinion.

The aim of this Chapter is to study this debate in greater detail and by doing so will try to answer the second set of questions that are posed in Chapter one namely “What are the reasons for the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action policies”? and “Do these reasons justify white women’s inclusion in this legislation”? As mentioned in Chapter one these questions will be answered by using a qualitative method of studying the arguments proposed by academics from both sides of the debate, those that support the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action and those that oppose this inclusion.

This Chapter will commence by studying gender discrimination in South Africa in greater detail and will then move on to the arguments put forward by academics over whether white women should be placed in the same category as their African counterparts. The Chapter will conclude with the two case studies of African women in Parliament and White women in the South African Receiver of Revenue (SARS) in order to identify and understand the experiences of both races within the South African working environment since the introduction of Affirmative Action policies.

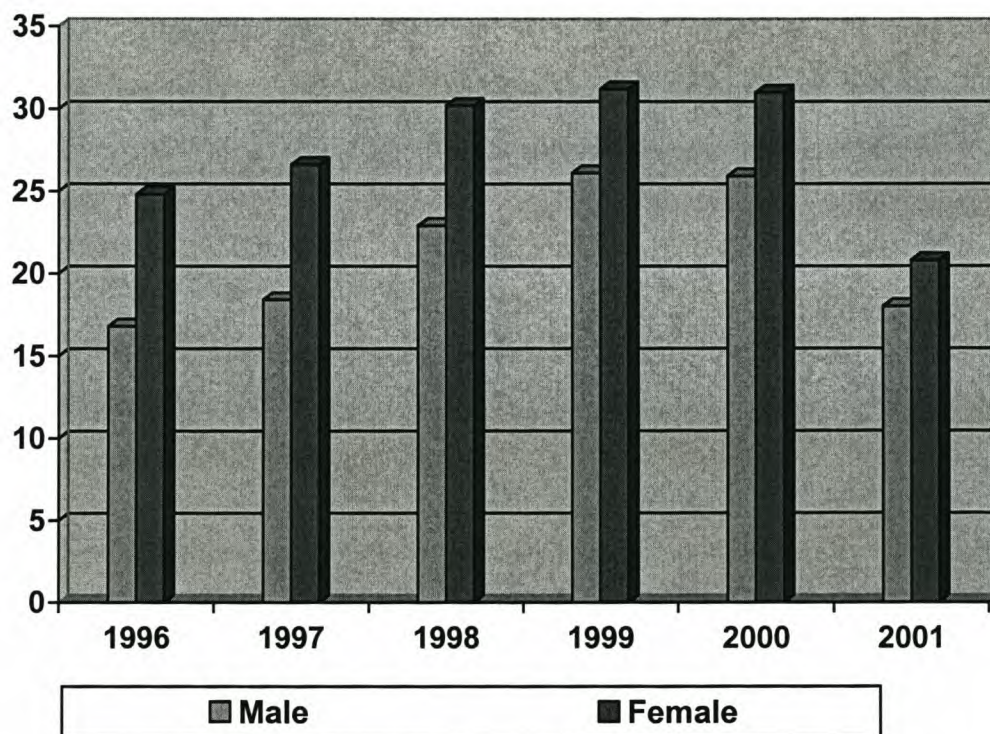
3.2 Gender Discrimination in South Africa

As already mentioned Gender inequality has existed hand in hand with Apartheid. These inequalities have not only existed in terms of income, in South Africa, there have also been glaring disparities regarding equal access to social resources like land, healthcare, information, credit, education and decision making-powers between the sexes. It is these large disparities that have created and reinforced the power relations that existed under Apartheid not only the domination of whites over Africans but also male domination over female (Maharaj, 1999: 1)

What is important to note is that once the new ANC Government stepped into power these gender disparities did not just miraculously disappear but continued to plague the South African female population.

The graph below showing the official unemployment rates between men and women from 1996 to 2001. One can see that before the Affirmative Action was formally introduced as well after its inception unemployment rates of females were much higher than males. Though this had dropped slightly by 2001.

Graph 3.1: Official Unemployment rates amongst males and females from 1996 to 2001

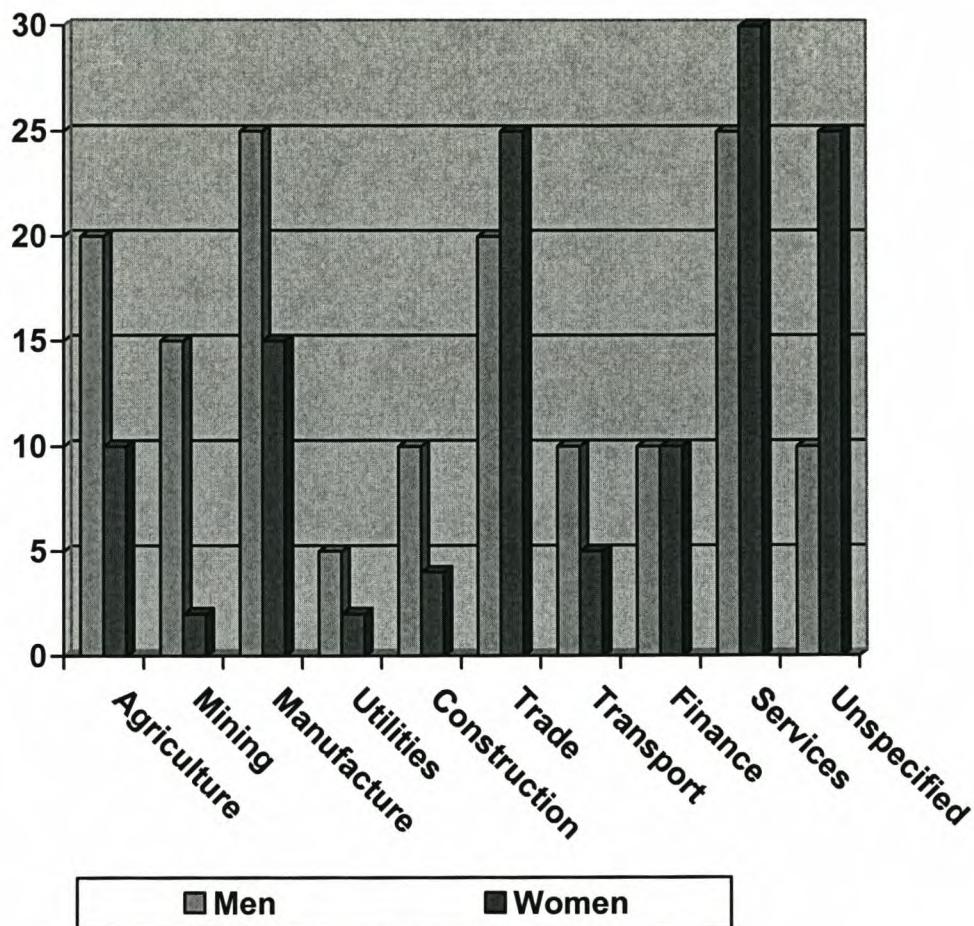


(Stats South Africa, 1999, 2001 & 2002).

The continued gender disparity seen in the unemployment rates in Table 3.1 is supported by the inconsistency in the sectoral distribution of the population by gender. The graphs show the sectoral distribution in the employment sector according to gender for 1995 and 1999. These graphs are seen to have similar employment

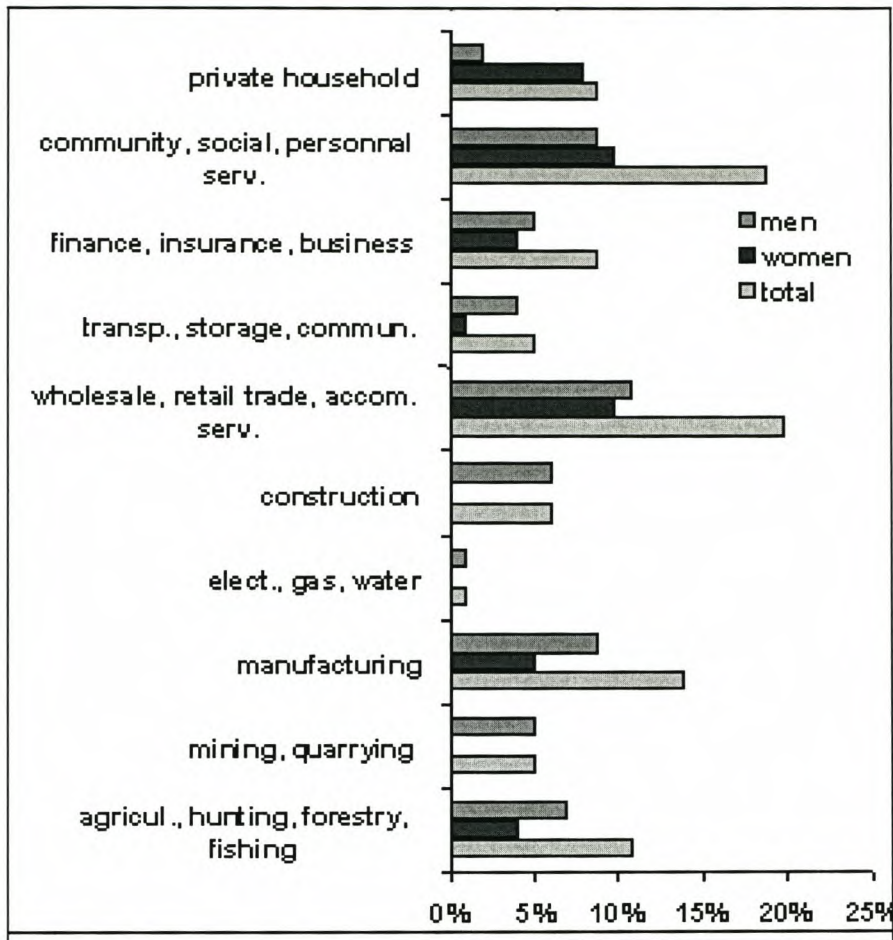
sector categories and can therefore be compared to see if there has been any improvements.

Graph 3.2: Sectoral distribution of the economically active population by gender in South Africa for 1995



(Badem, S; Hasim, S & Meintjies, S. 1998)

Graph 3.3: Sectoral distribution of the economically active population by gender in South Africa for 1999



(Canadian International Development Agency, 2001: 3).

Graphs 3.2 and 3.3 show that men are seen to dominate most sectors except for the services sector and the trade sectors which are informal.

A large reason for these inequalities continuing to exist despite the adoption of a new Constitution that entrenched equality firmly in the country's value system as well as the introduction of affirmative action was because of patriarchy being deeply embedded in the various custom, cultures and religions of all the South African people (CEDAW, 2004, 19).

The existence of gender discrimination within custom, tradition and religion across all ethnic groups shall now be discussed.

Tradition: A number of traditional practices exist that enforce the subordination of women. This is seen to be more prevalent in African culture with some of the following traditions ensuring their inferior status such as lobola, polygamy, witch hunting, female circumcision and prenuptial checking of a woman's virginity (CEDAW, 1997: 21).

Along with tradition gender discrimination is also seen to exist with regards to custom in South Africa. In 1992 a cross section of South African women met to produce the journal "Agenda" and they concluded that despite their different backgrounds they found that in African, Indian and Western cultures many women were undervalued and often anything associated with women seemed to be evaluated negatively. Another aspect they had in common was that from an early age women were held responsible for child rearing and household work. In its worst form in African rural societies women don't even have control over their own life or bodies while women in more "civilized" societies are manipulated by social and religious pressures to accept and even defend their subordinate role in society (CEDAW, 2004: 20).

Religion: Religion is one of the influential organs of civil society in South Africa, yet only a few religious institutions have embraced transformation. The majority of religious institutions are controlled by men due to patriarchy existing within these institutions. Women are often seen to be the silent majority who are seen to be subordinate to their male counterparts as religious institutions are believed to be public institutions that are deemed and perceived as men's fortes. The gender discrimination that exists within many religions in South Africa have had far reaching implications that have affected the status of women within the greater South African society (Joint Monitoring Committee on the Improvement of Quality of Life and Status of Women, 2001: 2).

The prevalence of gender discrimination in custom, religion and tradition has had far reaching implications one of them obviously being the marginalizing of women in the employment sector as well as in other spheres of South African life. These implications or effects can be seen in the results of a survey conducted by

Johannesburg-based market research agency called Market Research Africa. This agency surveyed the views of 2439 urban adults aged 16 years and over on the issue of women's rights. The results of this survey found that generally South African women were inclined to deny themselves rights. This was surprising especially when one keeps in mind urban adults would on the whole be more liberal than rural adults (CEDAW, 2004: 19).

The survey found that:

- 93% of the sample agreed women should get the same pay rates as men, and 90% agreed that women should get the same promotions as men, but only 76% felt that women have a right to say no to sex;
- Only 66% of respondents felt that "some parts of traditional culture should be changed to allow women the same rights as men"
- One third felt that women cannot decide for themselves on abortion or how many children they should have. This included 22% of the women sampled; and
- 10% condoned a man beating a woman or his wife. This included 15% of male respondents and 4% of female respondents.

(CEDAW, 2004: 19).

The reason for these women denying themselves rights is because of the pervasive affects tradition, custom and religion have had on their lives. These effects have dictated to women to play a subordinate role in society which they have accepted shown by the results above.

Another way the marginalization of women in the employment sector can be seen is when one looks at women's income levels in proportion to men's income levels when both have the same education.

The table below shows the income of African women and men and white women as a percentage of white men's income when having similar education in 1991 before the new Government came into power.

Table 3.1: Income by race, sex and education as a percentage of income of white men with similar education, 1991

Educational level	African women	African men	White women	White men
5-6 years	10	25	75	100
7-8 years	10	10	40	100
9-10 years	5	20	40	100
Diploma	35	45	55	100
Degree	-	65	45	100

(Canadian International Development Agency, 2001: 6).

Although all three groups suffered varying degrees of inequality when compared to white men, African women were definitely the group that suffered the greatest degree. This is highlighted the most by the fact that African women were not even included in the tertiary education level category.

But despite the data in the graph highlighting the inequality suffered by the three groups this data also highlights the large gap between African and white women as well as white women and African men. One can see that white women in all the categories except for the last one enjoyed higher income levels than African men and there is no comparison between the income levels of white women and African women.

Table 3.1 therefore moves past the study of the discrimination of all women in society. This table shows that African women were discriminated against to a greater extent than white women during Apartheid. The gap highlighted by this data is one of the reasons many academics such as Urmila Bhoola (Director of the Resolve Group) and Mabela Satekge (Director of Procurement, City of Cape Town) have argued that white women should not be included as a designated group in Affirmative action policies even though Graphs 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3 show that they were also seen to be discriminated against under Apartheid.

3.3 White women as a designated group in Affirmative Action

Despite the fact that the above section shows how all women were discriminated against under Apartheid, case studies of African women from the 1980's highlight the harsh conditions they had to endure in the employment industry.

Most African women worked either in factories, agriculture or service work (domestic workers). These three job sectors had many things in common they were seen to offer the worst wages of any paying jobs as well as the worst working conditions. Farm workers and domestic workers were not covered by many of the laws that protected the factory workers and even the laws enjoyed by the latter group ignored the special needs of women such as the right to paid maternity leave (Lawson, 1986: 18).

Two excerpts below are from interviews with African women on their jobs and personal lives in the 1980's and they succeed in highlighting the difficulties these women faced on a daily basis. The first excerpt shows the inequalities that existed between men and African women and the second excerpt shows the inequalities that existed between white females and African females.

Interview of Nomvula a cleaner in August 1984: *Say you are a woman and you are looking for a job. When you reach a factory, you find the induna there and you ask him. If you like the job the induna will tell you that you must sleep with him to get the job. And you have got no choice. You want to work and your children are starving in Soweto. So, some women sleep with those men. Some women sleep with their bosses because they want more money or easier work. Then when you are working there a new woman comes and the induna wants to sleep with her. And you, you are nothing inside now* (Lawson, 1986: 26).

Interview with Rose a domestic worker: *I found domestic work in Brixton. The Madam used to say, "Rose you mustn't iron your clothes here. Here's your plate, here's your cup – you mustn't use my crockery." I didn't like those kinds of people. It's as if I'm dirty or she's going to become black. You don't want me to sit on your chair, but I work in your house. I give you food, like that, with my own hands but you don't want me to use your things* (Lawson, 1986: 34).

Many gender activists have argued that while all women suffered under patriarchy, they suffered in different ways depending on their race, class, sexual orientation, religion and ethnicity. Although Apartheid was primarily a racial ideology, it intersected with conservative class and gender ideologies in ways that made life much easier for white women than for African women (Msimang, 2001: 2).

African women under Apartheid were therefore seen to suffer a double burden of being both African and female. Yet when it came to seeking alliances African women found greater common ground with their African male counterparts than with their white 'sisters'. The reason for this was largely due to the most common form of interaction between white and African women being the 'madam-maid' relationship (Baden, Hasim & Meintjies, 1998: 12).

Yet in repudiation to this argument academics like Sisonke Msimang (2001) have pointed out that white women were also excluded from most types of formal employment except secretarial or clerical work. While this exclusion was not legislated many white women were denied access to employment due to the conservative ideas about the women's place in society. White women's employment patterns therefore mirrored their role in the family (Msimang, 2001: 2).

Furthermore, white women's aspirations and opportunities were limited by the policies of banks that would not let married women take out loans or open accounts without the permission of their husbands, employers who fired women when they became pregnant and an educational system that encouraged women to take teaching or nursing courses rather than other higher education. Even though the education environment for white women did improve in the 1980's they were still highly politically and economically disadvantaged in relation to white men (Mismang, 2001: 2).

On the grounds of these hardships endured by white women people have argued that white women have a right to be included in Affirmative Action policies. But Mabela Satekge, director of procurement for the City of Cape Town is one of many who have argued that these inequalities are not enough to justify white women's classification as 'historically disadvantaged'.

Satekge delivered a speech at the Western Cape Black Economic Empowerment Conference in May 2003 in which he called for the status of white women in Affirmative action to be urgently reviewed. In response to this speech Ryland Fisher, former editor of the Cape Times agreed with Satekge by arguing that all white people including women benefited under Apartheid:

"Show me one white women who was forced to live in an apartheid-created dormitory township far away from her place of work. Show me one white women who was forced to go to an apartheid-created school where the words "gutter education" could not even be begin to explain the putrid quality of the education. Show me one white women who was forced to go into the back entrance of a shop because only white people could go into the front entrance. Show me one white women who was forced to leave a God -created beach, because only white people were allowed to use that beach. Blacks and dogs were not allowed." (Fisher, 2003: 2).

Satekge in his speech did claim that he did not dispute the fact that white women have suffered but he felt that this had more to do with male chauvinism not Apartheid. He argued that discrimination against white women was never legislated. It was not legally enforced or enforceable. Satekge also stated that it was nowhere near as painful and cruel as the discrimination suffered by African men and women (Fisher, 2003: 1-2).

In line with Satekge's speech is the argument that white women seem to be the only oppressed group who have seen to be frequently born into the middle and upper classes of society. During Apartheid white women also usually married white men who were well paid therefore either via marriage, birth or inheritance white women have seen to benefit from white men's jobs as much as these white men (Boggs, 2003: 1)

White women's inclusion in Affirmative Action policies has therefore produced a great irony. Just as most white men under Apartheid shared their income and assets with white women; women have and are sharing their affirmative action gains with their white male counterparts. This has enabled many white South African men to be beneficiaries of a policy that classified them as the non-designated group (Boggs, 2003: 2).

Many white business owners have taken this beneficiary argument a step further as pointed out by Mabela Satekge. These business owners have given 50 percent of their companies to their wives and have then proclaimed them to be “historically disadvantaged’ companies. By doing so they make themselves eligible for government contracts and reap the benefits of Affirmative Action policies that were meant for those that were truly previously disadvantaged. Many other companies have also used white women to boost their employment equity targets as often the white managers and owners have felt more comfortable working with them rather than Africans from both sexes (Fisher, 2003: 2).

Many African American feminists including Kimberel  Crenshaw (2000) have argued that white women should not be included in Affirmative action due to the fact that the intersection between race and sex with regards to African women has been recognized in South Africa. In the United States of America the reasons given for African women being discriminated against are either because of race or because of sex not both. This has often led to the paradigms of sex discrimination being based on white women’s experiences and the paradigms of race discrimination being based on the experiences of African males in America. African women in America are therefore not properly represented as an individual group (Crenshaw, 2000: 218).

As already mentioned above African women are seen to bear a double burden therefore intersectionality has been recognized. Because of this, South African, African feminists argue that overarching gender discrimination that includes white women does not have to play a role in Affirmative Action policies. African women are recognized as being discriminated against because of bearing the double burden of who they are and this obviously excludes white women.

The argument against white women being included in Affirmative Action as they do not seem to have suffered as much as African men and women as well as because their inclusion seems to misplace the benefits Africans from both sexes deserve, are very strong.

But when one looks at the salaries of women when compared to men of the same race in 1999 one cannot help questioning whether Affirmative Action has benefited white women, while ignoring African men and women, as greatly as many argue it has.

In general in 1999 after Affirmative Action policies were introduced South African women's wages averaged only 87% of men's in the formal labour force. The breakdown by race presented a further surprise: African women's wages were actually identical to African men's. But African women averaged two more years of education than African men. On this basis their salaries should have been 20% more. Moreover, white women's salaries average only 67% of white men's despite having equal educational attainment (Maharaj. 1999: 2).

As one can see white women's position in the employment sector did not seem to have improved that much with the introduction of Affirmative Action they still seemed to have suffered a large degree of gender discrimination.

In order to see whether white women have enjoyed more benefits over African women under Affirmative Action two case studies will be compared. The first is the experiences of African women in Parliament while the second is the experiences of white women in the South African Revenue Service and this has been written by an informant working within this agency who shall remain anonymous. By comparing these two case studies this Chapter will discern whether both African and white women have enjoyed the benefits reserved for them by Affirmative Action in this sphere of the employment sector, or like the inconsistency that exists in the government's legislation and policies there has also been inconsistency in the benefits that African and white women have received.

3.4 Case study one: "The rise of African women in Parliament"

As discussed already the former Apartheid government was extremely patriarchal and this could be seen in parliament where women constituted only 2.8 percent of parliamentary representatives (Mayakayaka-Manzini, 1).

But this marginalization of women soon changed with the sweeping reforms that were brought in by the political reforms of the 1990's. As soon as the ANC Government came into power in 1994 one could see these changes with women winning 109 of the

400 seats in the National Assembly and they were also elected to eight of the seats in the Senate which today is the NCOP (Mayakayaka-Manzini).

President Mandela also appointed two women Cabinet Members in May 1994 and a woman also succeeded the late minister of housing, Joe Slovo after his death in January 1995. Three women were also made deputy ministers by early 1995 (Mayakayaka-Manzini, 1).

The ANC's commitment to gender equality was truly affirmed by the election of Dr. Frene Ginwala as the speaker of the National Assembly and later with the appointment of Baleka Kaositsile as Deputy Speaker (Mayakayaka-Manzini, 1).

The increase in women's representation in parliament was the result of two main factors. First it was due to the work of the women in the ANC who had been actively involved for decades in the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation. Secondly, it was the result of the policies and Affirmative Action mechanisms adopted by the ANC (Mayakayaka-Manzin, 1).

In the 1999 elections the ANC placed women in every third position on the national list. This led to women increasing their representation to 30% in parliament (Mayakayaka-Manzini: 2003: 3).

This proportion of 30% of women in 1999 has increased to 32,8% after the 2004 elections. This led to South Africa moving up the global ranking of women in parliament from 15th to 11th place coming after Austria and ahead of Germany. (South African women, 2004: 1).

The main reason for the 2004 increase in women's representation in parliament is due to the high majority secured by the ANC in the April 14 elections. The ANC is the only South African party that is seen to have had a quota system for women right from the first elections in 1994 and the women were evenly distributed in the ANC lists therefore with the ANC winning more seats at the election 8 of the 11 new women in parliament were from the ANC (South African women, 2004:1).

The ANC women are seen to account for 79% of the total number of women in the new parliament with the number of women MPs from opposition parties only

increasing by three seats. The reason for this was due to the fact that opposition parties were often not strategically placed on national lists before the elections (South African women, 2004: 2).

The three most prominent opposition parties with regards to women MPs are the United Democratic Movement (four out of their nine seats are women), the Independent Democrats (three out of seven seats are women) and the Democratic Alliance who increased its proportion of women in parliament from 6 seats in 1999 to 13 seats in 2004 (South African women, 2004: 3)

One of the key ways the ANC has also made clear its goal of creating a political society where it will be normal for women and men to hold equally important positions is through their appointment of women cabinet ministers and provincial premiers (Mokgola, 2004: 1).

After the April 14 elections this year forty three percent of South African cabinet ministers are women an increase from thirty percent in 1999.

Mbeki appointed former chairperson of the National Council of Provinces Naledi Pandor as minister of Education, replacing Kader Asmal, who has retired from politics due to ill health. He also promoted Deputy Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Minister Buyelwa Sonjica and Deputy Home Affairs Minister Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula who is now Home Affairs minister, replacing Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Sonjica becomes minister of Water Affairs and Forestry, replacing Ronnie Kasrils, who has been moved to Intelligence. Former Intelligence Minister Lindiwe Sisulu has been moved to Housing, while her predecessor, Bridgette Mabandla, will be responsible for Justice and Constitutional Development (Mokgola, 2004: 2).

A number of women ministers were retained in crucial positions: Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma in Foreign Affairs, Manto Tshabalala-Msimang in Health, Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka in Minerals and Energy, Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri in Communications, Stella Sigcau in Public Works, Thoko Didiza in Land Affairs and Agriculture, and Geraldine Fraser-Moleketi in Public Service and Administration (Mokogola, 2004: 2).

Out of the nine provinces Mbeki appointed four women as provincial premiers: Nosimo Balindela for the Eastern Cape, Beatrice Marshoff for the Free State, Dipuo Peters for the Northern Cape and Edna Molewa for North West.

As one can see since 1994 the empowering of women has been the top priority of the ANC government and they have been very successful in meeting this priority.

But despite these successes one clearly sees that African women have been the main group to benefit, this is especially with regards to the ANC. Though the ANC holds the majority of seats delegated women they are the least representative of race.

Despite the DA's increase of female representation in parliament one can also see that they are fairly polarized when it comes to race as by far the majority of their representatives are white.

When looking at the race representation of the ANC and the DA with regards to women in parliament one tends to justify this representation by arguing that both parties are merely representing their race support bases.

Yet this argument cannot be justified when one looks at the racial composition of women MPs in the IFP. The eight IFP female MPs in parliament consists of African, white and even a chinese women. Their eight seats are therefore seen to be more racially heterogenous than the ANC's 79% proportion of women's seats in parliament. Yet the IFP is traditionally seen as being the party who represents the Zulu nation in South Africa.

The racial composition of ANC women MPs clearly shows that although the ANC is committed to the empowering of women in politics their Transformation policies where white women are excluded seem to dominate these goals.

3.5 Case study two: “the plight of the white women in the South African Revenue Service.”

The South African Revenue Service (SARS) was established by the South Africa Revenue Service Act, No. 34 of 1997 as an organ of State within the public administration, but as an institution outside the public service. It was established with the objective to efficiently and effectively take over the old Departments of Inland Revenue and Customs and Excise and amalgamate these under one Commissioner.

The Act defined in paragraph 21 that all existing staff in both of the previous Departments would become employees of the newly established single organ of State.

On its formation SARS immediately laid claim to the status of an “Equal opportunities, affirmative action employer” and as such “white women” should be classified as part of the Employment Equity “designated group”.

Unfortunately for all “white women”, who had progressed from their respective old Departments of either Inland Revenue or Customs and Excise, decisions taken by their respective old management’s echelons prior to the transformation and adoption by SARS of affirmative action policies, backfired badly to the detriment of these officials now defined as part of the collective classified as the “designated group”.

In the latter half of 1996 the old Department’s management echelon had, in a futile attempt to be seen as proactive in correcting the inequalities of the past, embarked on a country wide process of promoting previously disadvantaged “white women” into so-called management positions. “White women” were identified and promoted into middle and senior management positions within the respective Departments. Some of these appointments were justified but many were merely token appointments to up female representation in management.

In 1998 The Employment Equity Act was promulgated and implemented aggressively across the board by SARS in accordance with its Charter but “white women” were now not recognised by management as forming part of previously disadvantaged

employee as defined under “designated group” due to the fact that previous management had already addressed their plight and rectified the inequalities of the past in the latter half of 1996.

The result is that many white women are sitting in token appointments with no hope of promotion while African women and men are moving up the promotions ladder in SARS.

When one looks at the present situation white women find themselves in SARS one can see that Affirmative Action has not seemed to benefit them at all.

3.6 Conclusion

As one can see women of all races have seemed to suffer certain injustices under the previous Apartheid regime. The problem is that these injustices were suffered in varying degrees according to the colour of women's skin.

As already mentioned many arguments have been put forward by academics on why white women should not be included in Affirmative Action policies. While the arguments on whether white women suffered enough to be included are highly subjective the argument that white women seem to receive the largest proportion of Affirmative Action benefits presents a pretty strong case for the exclusion of these women from Affirmative Action. But when one looks at the two case studies above one can't help questioning whether white women have benefited as much as many academics claim. These case studies seem to point to the fact the Government's Transformation policies have had an extremely negative effect on white women in Affirmative Action.

It is clear that not only does inconsistency exist in government's policies and legislation as well as in the arguments of academics. Inconsistency also exists in discrimination experienced by white and African women under Apartheid and the benefits that these groups enjoy under Affirmative Action.

Chapter Four

Public opinion on the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action

4.1 Introduction

As already mentioned in Chapter one, due to South Africa being a democracy the opinion of the public is extremely important as they decide who will be ruling the country through regular elections occurring every five years. This means that the present ANC government is held accountable by the South African voting public.

The issue of Affirmative Action has been one of the subjects that have dominated public opinion since 1994 as the population has been seen to have opposing views on whether Affirmative Action should be implemented by the government or not.

A survey conducted by the Helen Suzman foundation in 1996 and 2000 found that overall public support for the government's Affirmative Action policies was waning across all race groups (Johnson, 2000: 1).

Respondents were given the following options envisaging a variety of different situations within the labour market from which they had to select one.

- “Only blacks should be appointed to jobs for a very long time ahead”
- “Only blacks should be appointed until those in employment were demographically representative of the entire population”
- “Appointments should be made on the basis of merit, but if two candidates were equal the preference should be given to the black candidate”
- “Appointments should be made strictly on the basis of merit but that there should be special training to help previously disadvantaged groups”

- “All appointments should be on the basis of merit alone without any special training being available”

(Johnson, 2000: 1).

The first option showed the most extreme supporters of Affirmative Action while the second option was seen to coincide most broadly with the government’s aims in their employment equity legislation. The third and fourth option was seen to fall in the middle ground while the last showed those who were extremely opposed to affirmative action (Johnson, 2000: 1).

The results from the 1996 survey showed that the majority of respondents (54%) were in favour of the last two options where appointments were based on merit, this increased to 56% in the 2000 survey. These opinions were expected from the white respondents yet surprisingly the African population held similar views with 52% of them favouring the last two options in the 2000 survey (Johnson, 2000: 2, 5). This means that generally the South African population was not as supportive of Affirmative Action as was believed.

With these results in mind one realises that one of the aims of this Chapter, which is to study the opinions of the South African population towards the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action, could lead to a number of unexpected findings.

This Chapter will study the opinions of South Africans with regards to the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action by using the data from the M-Bus survey conducted by Markinor in 2004.

The following three statements were presented to respondents regarding the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action:

- **Statement one:** “White women should be removed from the category of ‘designated groups’ who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action.”
- **Statement two:** “To exclude white women from the ranks of the ‘designated groups’ would be an act of anti-white racism.”

- **Statement three:** “Affirmative Action policies that make it possible for white women to gain preferential treatment works against Transformation.”

With regards to all three statements the respondents were given the following response categories:

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neither agree or disagree
- Disagree
- Strongly disagree

The non-responses were coded in to following two categories:

- Don't know
- Refused

Although all three statements were used in the survey to measure the opinions of South African's regarding the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action, due to the scope of this thesis being fairly limited only the responses to the first statement shall be studied in greater detail. Therefore for the purposes of this study the acceptance or rejection of white women as part of the 'designated groups' who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action acts as the dependent variable.

What is important to note is that this independent variable is also able to shed light on people's opinions on the government's Transformation policies that exclude women from equal opportunity benefits. The reason for this is if people oppose the inclusion of white women from Affirmative Action they are likely to support these Transformation policies and on the other hand if they support the inclusion of white women they will support Affirmative Action and oppose Transformation.

The answers given by the respondents can be studied according to a number of demographic variables. For the purposes of this thesis the data will be studied according to the following demographic variables namely gender, race, political party support, education and age. For analysis purposes each demographic category was then recoded into the following sub-categories which are shown below:

- **Gender:** men and women
- **Race:** African, white, coloured and Indian
- **Political party:** African National Congress (ANC), Democratic Alliance (DA), Inkatha Freedom party (IFP), New National party (NNP), Pan African Congress (PAC), the Independent Democrats (ID), the Freedom Front (FF) and the United Democratic Movement (UDM).
- **Education:** no schooling, primary school completed, matric, tertiary education
- **Age:** 18-24 years, 25-34 years, 35-49 years and 50 + years.

By studying the responses to the first statement mentioned above according to the above demographic variables this chapter aims to identify which of these demographic variables are seen to be independent variables that affect South African's opinions with regards to the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action.

In order to achieve the above aim the hypotheses mentioned in Chapter one will be tested and the results will be analysed. By confirming or refuting these hypotheses one will then be able to see which of the above demographics can be classified as independent variables in the study. After this data has been presented the findings will be analysed in greater detail in order to understand why certain of the above demographic variables are independent and why others are not.

4.2 Presentation of survey results

The first set of data that shall be analysed is the responses of all South Africans to the first statement by doing so the following hypothesis I presented in Chapter one shall be tested:

- I. "The South African population opposes the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action."

After analysing the general responses of South Africans to this statement, one sees that only 14.4% of South Africans strongly agree with the statement and only 7.5% responded by strongly disagreeing. South Africans are therefore not seen to have extreme opinions with regards to white women being removed from the category of designated groups. This observation is supported by the fact that 28.2% of South Africans neither agree or disagree with the statement therefore having a fairly neutral view on the issue. When the "strongly agree" and "agree" categories as well as the "strongly disagree" and "disagree" are collapsed one can see that more South Africans (38.9%) agree with the removal of white women from Affirmative Action than disagree (30.2%). Twenty eight point two percent of South Africans responded by neither agreeing or disagreeing showing that nearly the same percentage who disagreed with the above statement were undecided or neutral towards the issue of the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action.

This data shows that the highest response rates were found in the agree categories even though this was by a narrow margin, it therefore means that hypotheses I is refuted. The majority of South Africans are seen to support the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action, not oppose it.

Race as an independent variable shall now be analysed and the data below shall test the following hypothesis:

- II. A person's race correlates with the extent of agreement/disagreement with the statement that "white women should be removed from the category of 'designated groups' who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action."

Table 4.1: Responses to the statement: "white women should be removed from the category of 'designated groups' who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action" according to race.

	African	White	Coloured	Indian
n	2000	937	390	170
Strongly agree	17.7%	3.7%	5.4%	3.6%
Agree	28.9%	8.3%	11.3%	23.1%
Neither disagree or agree	31.4%	16.0%	22.3%	21.3%
Disagree	16.2%	39.3%	50.0%	34.4%
Strongly disagree	3.2%	30.1%	8.5%	10.7%
Don't know	2.6%	2.4%	2.3%	6.9%
Refused				

Table 4.1 shows that, unlike gender, there is a large difference in opinion between the race groups on whether white women should be included in Affirmative Action or not. When the two agree and disagree categories are collapsed one can see that the majority of whites (69.4%) and coloureds (58.5%) are seen to disagree with the above statement. Where these two race groups differ is that whites are seen to be more extreme in their opinion with 30.1% of the 69.4% who agree doing so strongly. Only 8.5% of coloureds disagreeing with the statement do so strongly. The African respondents' opinions are seen to be the complete opposite especially when compared to the opinions of the whites. Only 19.4% of Africans were seen to disagree with the statement after the "disagree" and "strongly disagree" responses were collapsed while 46.6% of them agreed (collapsed "strongly agree" and "agree") with the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action yet only 12% of whites had the same opinion. What is also interesting is the high percentage of Africans who neither agreed or disagreed (31.4%). They are seen to have the highest percentage within this category followed by coloureds (22.3%) then Indians (21.3%) then whites (16.0%) and this shows that a large part of the African population is seen to occupy a neutral or undecided position. Forty five point two percent of Indians are seen to disagree with the statement while 26.7% agree they are therefore seen to be the race group that falls

in the middle with regards to their opinions, though like whites and coloureds the majority of them disagree with the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action. The race group with the most extreme opinion on the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action is definitely the white population.

The large differences that exist between the race groups especially between the Africans and the whites means that race can be classified as an independent variable as it correlates with South African's opinions on the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action. In other words the hypothesis II is confirmed.

The next set of hypotheses that this Chapter tests, studies political party support as an independent variable:

- III. A person's political party support correlates with the extent of agreement/disagreement with the statement that "white women should be removed from the category of 'designated groups' who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action."

This hypothesis will be either confirmed or refuted by testing the following sub-hypotheses:

- III.I "ANC supporters support the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action to a much greater extent than DA supporters who are the official opposition."
- III.II "Political parties whose majority supporters are African support the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action to a much greater extent than political parties whose majority supporters are not African."

Table 4.2: Responses to the statement: “white women should be removed from the category of ‘designated groups’ who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action” according to ANC and DA support.

	ANC	DA
n	1761	586
Strongly Agree	16.9%	4.9%
Agree	28.3%	9.4%
Neither agree or disagree	31.9%	20.6%
Disagree	17.5%	36.6%
Strongly disagree	3.6%	26.2%
Don't know	1.9%	2.3%
Refuse		

Table 4.2 shows that after the “strongly agree” and “agree” categories are collapsed 45.2% of ANC supporters are seen to agree with the statement while only 14.3% of DA supporters feel the same way. When the disagree categories are collapsed one sees that only 21.1% of ANC affiliates disagreed with the statement while 62.8% of DA affiliates held the same opinion. When the “neither disagree or agree” response rates are studied one sees that just over ten percent more ANC supporters (31.9%) gave this response than DA supporters (20.6%).

Hypothesis III.I is confirmed by Table 4.2. ANC supporters are seen to support the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action to a greater extent than DA supporters who are seen to have more extreme opinions on the issue.

Table 4.13 below shows that the political parties with majority African supporters are the ANC, the IFP, the PAC and the UDM. The parties with the majority white supporters as well as coloured and Indian supporters are the DA, the ID and the FF. Hypothesis III.II can therefore be tested.

Table 4.3: Responses to the statement: “White women should be removed from the category of ‘designated groups’ who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action” according to political party support.

	ANC	DA	IFP	NNP	PAC	ID	FF	UDM
n	1761	586	112	164	24	59	38	37
Strongly Agree	16.9%	4.9%	13.3%	4.0%	18.1%	9.2%	4.9%	22.7%
Agree	28.3%	9.4%	27.6%	15.3%	45.7%	8.2%	4.3%	20.6%
Neither agree or disagree	31.9%	20.6%	28.1%	19.2%	17.3%	18.8%	21.6%	16.2%
Disagree	17.5%	36.6%	19.7%	43.4%	18.9%	49.7%	27.8%	17.2%
Strongly disagree	3.6%	26.2%	1.5%	16.4%		12.7%	38.3%	18.4%
Don't know	1.9%	2.3%	9.7%	1.4%		1.4%	3.1%	
Refuse				0.4%				

After studying Table 4.3 one can see two separate groups emerging. The first group consists of those parties who support the removal of white women from the designated groups benefiting from Affirmative Action and the second are those parties who are against this removal. The ANC, IFP, PAC and the UDM make up the first group. When the strongly agree and agree categories are collapsed one can see that the PAC leads within this group with 68.2% of its respondents agreeing with the statement. There is around a 20% gap between the PAC and the other parties in the first group with the 45.2% of the ANC, 43.3% of the UDM and 40.9% of the IFP agreeing with the statement. Despite this gap existing one can still see that the majority of all four parties responded by strongly agreeing and agreeing therefore they can be grouped together. Even though the PAC had the most “agree” responses one can see from the table above that the UDM had the largest “strongly agree” response rate (22.7%) making it the party with the most extreme opinions from the first group followed by the PAC, the ANC and lastly the IFP.

The leading party in the second group, which consisted of the DA, the FF, the ID and the NNP, who was seen to disagree (strongly disagree and disagree categories were collapsed) the most with the removal of white women from Affirmative Action is the FF with 66.1% of its supporters feeling this way. The FF is closely followed by the DA (62.8%), the ID (62.4%) and lastly the NNP (59.8%). One can see that the second

group feels more strongly as well as uniformly about the situation will all the parties “disagree” response rate being around 60%. The party that has the most extreme opinion is the FF with 38.3% of its affiliates strongly disagreeing with the statement, following this party is the DA, then the NNP and lastly the ID. When studying the “neither agree or disagree” response rates, which normally reveals neutrality on an issue one can see that many parties who did not have high “strongly agree” and “strongly disagree” response rates did have high neither agree or disagree percentages. This could be seen with the NNP and the IFP yet surprisingly the FF, whose supporters were seen to have one of the most extreme opinions (38.3%) had one of the highest neutral responses (21.6%). What is also interesting is that nearly 10% of IFP supporters gave “don’t know” responses which was much higher than the other parties.

The segregation between the political parties shown above confirms the above hypothesis. The political parties with majority African supporters namely the ANC, the IFP, the PAC and the UDM are seen to support the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action to a much greater extent than those political parties with majority non-African supporters namely the DA, ID and the FF. The NNP which is shown by Table 4.12 as having the majority coloured affiliates is also seen to oppose the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action. This result corresponds with the results in Table 4.1 that shows the similarity between the white and coloured respondent’s opinions.

Due to both sub-hypotheses being confirmed one can argue that the main hypothesis III is also confirmed. In other words a person’s political support correlates with the extent of agreement/disagreement with the statement that “white women should be removed from the category of ‘designated groups’ who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action.” Political party support therefore acts as an independent variable.

However hypothesis III.II hints that the reason for various political party supporters differing in their opinion is related to their racial composition. This shall be discussed in greater detail in the following section (4.3).

Income is also tested as an independent variable and the hypothesis IV is tested in order to see if income does affect people's attitudes towards the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action:

IV. A person's monthly income correlates with the extent of agreement/disagreement with the statement "white women should be removed from the category of 'designated groups' who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action."

Table 4.4: Response to the statement: "White women should be removed from the category of 'designated groups' who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action" according to monthly income.

	Up to R1999	R1200 to R2499	R2500 to R4999	R5000 to R7999	R8000 to R11999	R12000 to R17999	R18000 plus
n	854	653	505	273	211	189	206
Strongly Agree	18.2%	19.1%	11.9%	7.3%	7.6%	2.9%	6.1%
Agree	29.2%	21.8%	26.8%	20.4%	11.5%	10.7%	17.5%
Neither agree or disagree	29.6%	33.0%	25.9%	24.1%	23.5%	16.9%	14.3%
Disagree	16.0%	19.6%	26.3%	31.3%	29.7%	44.5%	38.4%
Strongly disagree	3.8%	3.5%	6.3%	15.8%	26.6%	24.9%	23.3%
Don't know		3.0%	2.8%	0.8%	1.2%	0.3%	
Refused				0.3%			

When studying the Table 4.4 one can see a polarization of opinion forming as one moves from the one side of the income scale to the other. When starting at the up to R1999 income category one sees that most respondents (47.4%) agreed (when "strongly agree" and "agree" response categories are collapsed) that white women should be excluded from designated groups with nearly 20% of them doing so strongly. When one studies the R18 000 plus income category one sees that only 23.6% felt the same way. What is interesting to note is that despite the R18 000 plus income category having the lowest "agree" response rate and 61.7% of those earning above R18 000 disagreeing (strongly disagree and disagree categories were collapsed) with the statement, more respondents from the R12 000 to R17 999 were

seen to disagree 69.4%. What is also interesting to note is out of the 56.3% of respondents who earned between R8000 to R11 999 that disagreed with the statement, 26.6% did so strongly therefore having the most extreme opinions. One can see when studying the R2500 to the R4999 income category when the “agree” and “disagree” response categories are collapsed there is only a 6.1% difference between the respondents who agreed (38.7%) and those that disagreed (32.6%), this shows a lack of mobilization of opinion within this group. The income category R1200 to R4999 is seen to have the highest “neither agree and disagree” response rate (33.0%) yet despite this they are seen to have the highest strongly agree response rate (19.1%) which is almost half of the respondents within this category who generally agreed with the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action. The R5000 to R7999 income category is seen to correspond with the gradual increase in polarization between the low income categories and high income categories. Lastly, what is interesting to note is that the neutral “neither agree or disagree” response rates are seen to much higher for the lower income categories while decreasing to the higher income categories this also shows that the latter group has more extreme opinions regarding the statement.

Table 4.4 therefore confirms the hypothesis IV. Responses by the income groups to the statement show a large polarization between the lower income groups and the higher income groups which makes income an independent variable (Section 4.3).

The following hypothesis studies education as an independent variable:

- V. A person's level of education correlates with the extent of agreement/disagreement with the statement “white women should be removed from the category of ‘designated groups’ who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action.”

Table 4.5: Responses to the statement: “White women should be removed from the category of ‘designated groups’ who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action” by education.

	No schooling	Primary school completed	Matric	Tertiary completed
n	116	219	1025	459
Strongly agree	15.0%	15.0%	12.4%	10.2%
Agree	24.8%	29.0%	22.0%	23.1%
Neither agree or disagree	40.4%	28.3%	28.2%	20.5%
Disagree	14.6%	20.7%	25.6%	32.8%
Strongly disagree	1.8%	4.9%	11.0%	12.6%
Don't know	3.3%	2.0%	0.9%	0.7%
Refused			0.0%	0.2%

Table 4.5 shows when both “agree” categories are collapsed one sees that the education groups are remarkably similar in their agree responses all of them having “agree” response rates between 30% and 40% except for the “primary school completed” category with 44% of its respondents agreeing with the statement. Where the education groups differ are with the “neither agree or disagree” response rates and the “disagree” response rates (disagree response rates are collapsed). This is seen between the no schooling and tertiary completed groups where only 16.4% of the first group were seen to disagree with the statement while 35.4% of the latter group disagreed. The no schooling group was also seen to have a very high “neither agree or disagree” response rate with (40.4%) of them giving this neutral response while only 20.5% of respondents who had studied at a tertiary level answering this way. The two middle education groups of primary school completed and matric were remarkably similar in their response rates for both “neither agree or disagree” and the “disagree” response rates.

As one can see the hypothesis V is confirmed; a person’s level of education correlates with their agreement or disagreement on the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action. This confirms that education acts as an independent variable.

Hypothesis VI was tested in order to study the affect of age on South African's opinions towards white women and Affirmative Action:

- VI. A person's age correlates with the extent of agreement/disagreement with the statement 'white women should be removed from the category of 'designated groups' who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action.'

After studying the responses of South Africans to statement according to age in Table 4.6 below, one could see that no large differences existed between the different age groups. One could see that in nearly all the age categories many respondents were seen to "agree" with the statement, but these response rates were closely followed by the "neither agree or disagree" response rates. The "disagree" response rates were much lower than the other two response rate categories, but were also seen to be fairly similar across the age groups. With these results in mind one could see the above hypothesis VI is therefore refuted. There is no correlation between a person's age and their agreement/disagreement with the statement 'white women should be removed from the category of 'designated groups' who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action.' This means that age is not seen as an independent variable that affects South Africans attitudes towards white women and Affirmative Action.

Table 4.6: Responses to the statement: “White women should be removed from the category of ‘designated groups’ who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action” by age.

	16-17 years	18-19 years	20-24 years	25-29 years	30-34 years	35-39 years	40-44 years	45-49 years	50-54 years	55-59 years	60-64 years	65+ years
n	165	248	457	440	403	374	312	247	203	182	185	281
Strongly Agree	13.1%	12.1%	15.0%	17.0%	14.1%	12.1%	15.6%	17.7%	13.9%	11.4%	9.6%	16.6%
Agree	26.1%	28.2%	27.9%	24.9%	25.4%	26.2%	19.2%	25.3%	21.3%	22.8%	20.7%	20.1%
Neither agree or disagree	24.8%	27.4%	28.7%	24.9%	31.0%	30.5%	29.6%	25.9%	25.0%	32.3%	31.7%	25.5%
Disagree	27.5%	22.6%	20.7%	26.2%	20.9%	22.9%	23.1%	21.4%	24.5%	23.9%	22.1%	19.6%
Strongly disagree	4.7%	6.9%	5.8%	6.0%	7.6%	6.8%	9.6%	8.6%	10.4%	6.4%	6.4%	12.6%
Don't know	3.9%	2.8%	1.9%	0.9%	1.0%	1.4%	2.9%	1.0%	4.8%	3.2%	9.4%	5.0%
Refused											0.1%	0.6%

The next set of data that shall be looked at will try to test hypothesis VII that studies gender in order to see if it acts as an independent variable:

- VII. “A person’s gender correlates with the extent of agreement/disagreement with the statement that “white women should be removed from the category of ‘designated groups’ who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action.”

Table 4.7: Responses to the statement: “white women should be removed from the category of ‘designated groups’ who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action” according to gender.

	Male	Female
n	1748	1749
Strongly agree	15.0%	13.8%
Agree	26.0%	23.1%
Neither disagree or agree	27.4%	29.0%
Disagree	21.9%	23.4%
Strongly disagree	7.2%	7.8%
Don't know	2.4%	2.9%
Refused	0.1%	0.0%

The first important finding one sees in Table 4.7 is that men and women do not seem to differ greatly in their views as to whether white women should be removed from Affirmative Action; the largest difference between the two categories is only seen to be 2.9 % in the “agree” response category. One can also see that generally men and women are not seen to hold extreme views with regards to the statement with both the “strongly agree” (men: 15.0% and women: 13.8%) and “strongly disagree” (men: 7.2% and women: 7.8%) response categories having the lowest response percentages. In line with the fairly moderate views men and women are shown to have is the high response percentages seen in the “neither disagree or agree” response category; 27.4% of men gave this response while 29.0% of women responded this way. In summary when the “strongly agree” and “agree” categories are collapsed as well as the “strongly disagree” and “disagree” categories, one can see that both men and women are seen to support the statement than oppose it. 41.1% of men agreed compared to 29.1% disagreeing and 39.6% of women agreed compared to 31.2% disagreeing.

Table 4.7 is therefore seen to refute the hypothesis VII. Men and women are seen to have very similar opinions with regards to the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action, therefore there is no correlation between a person’s gender and their agreement/disagreement with the statement “white women should be removed from the category of ‘designated groups’ who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action”. Instead of only men supporting this exclusion women do so as well. This means that gender does not seem to act as an independent variable.

Gender is once again studied by testing hypothesis VIII to see if it affects the opinions regarding the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action of people from the same race:

VIII. “White men are seen to support the exclusion of white women in Affirmative Action to a greater extent than white women.”

Table 4.8: Responses of white men and white women to the statement: “White women should be removed from the category of ‘designated groups’ who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action”

	White	White
	Men	Women
n	468	469
Strongly Agree	4.9%	2.5%
Agree	10.3%	6.3%
Neither agree or disagree	16.5%	15.4%
Disagree	39.0%	39.6%
Strongly disagree	26.8%	33.4%
Don't know	2.2%	2.6%
Refused	0.3%	0.2%

Table 4.8 shows when the “strongly agree and disagree” categories are collapsed 15.2% of white men are seen to agree with the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action while only 8.8% of white women feel the same way. Men are also to have approximately a one percent higher “neither agree or disagree” response rate. When the “strongly agree” and “agree” response rates are collapsed one can see that 73% of white women disagree with the above statement while 65.8% of white men feel the same way. Nearly half of these white women who are agreeing with the statement do so strongly, while 26.8% out of 65.8% of white men who agree feel the same. On the whole white women are seen to have more extreme opinions on the issue than men as one sees that despite men having a higher strongly disagree response rate than white women, this 4.9% strongly agree response rate is only approximately a third of the overall disagree response rates of men.

Hypothesis VIII is seen to be confirmed when one studies the data in Table 4.8. However despite more white men agreeing with the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action than white women the majority of men (65.8%) were still seen to oppose the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action. One can also see that the differences between these two groups was not that great, showing once again that gender does not play an important role as an independent variable in the study, especially due to the majority of both groups being seen to disagree with the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action.

The racial differences amongst women are tested by the following hypothesis:

- IX. “African women support the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action to a greater extent than white women.”

Table 4.9: Responses by African and white women to the statement: “White women should be removed from the category of ‘designated groups’ who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action.”

	African women	White women
n	1000	469
Strongly agree	17.2%	2.5%
Agree	27.9%	6.3%
Neither agree or disagree	31.9%	15.4%
Disagree	17.1%	39.6%
Strongly disagree	3.0%	33.4%
Don't know	2.9%	2.6%
Refused		0.2%

Table 4.9 shows that a fairly large difference does exist between African women and white women with regards to their opinions on the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action. When the “strongly agree” and “agree” response categories are collapsed one could see that 45.1% of African women agreed with the exclusion of white women while only 8.8% of white women felt the same way. While 73% of white women disagreed (“strongly disagree and disagree categories were collapsed”) with the statement only 20.1% of African women felt the same way. African women are also seen to have nearly a double more “neither agree or disagree” response rates

than white women while the latter group is also seen to have the most extreme opinions with 33.4% of white women strongly disagreeing with the statement.

The data therefore confirms the hypothesis IX. African women definitely do support the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action to a greater extent than white women. White women are also overall seen to have much more extreme opinions than African women. This hypothesis once again confirms that race is an important independent variable in the study.

Hypothesis X tests if differences exist amongst women according to party support with regards to their opinions on the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action:

X. “Female ANC supporters oppose the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action to a greater extent than female DA supporters.”

Table 4.10: Responses (of female ANC supporters and female DA supporters) to the statement: “White women should be removed from the category of ‘designated groups’ who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action.”

	Female	Female
	ANC supporters	DA supporters
n	892	269
Strongly Agree	16.9%	2.4%
Agree	26.5%	6.6%
Neither agree or disagree	32.9%	21.6%
Disagree	18.5%	35.2%
Strongly disagree	3.2%	31.5%
Don't know	2.1%	2.7%
Refused		

Differences between the female ANC and DA supporters definitely exist. When the “agree and strongly agree” categories are collapsed one can see that nearly 35% more female ANC affiliates (43.4%) agree with the statement than female DA supporters (9%). Sixty six point seven percent of female DA supporters are seen to disagree (“strongly disagree and disagree” response categories are collapsed) while only 21.7% of female ANC supporters responded the same way. Female ANC supporters

are seen to have higher “neither disagree and agree” response rates hinting at a fairly neutral or undecided view, this is supported by their fairly low extreme response rates (“strongly agree” and “strongly disagree”). Female DA affiliates are seen to have much more extreme opinions with nearly half of their “agree” response rates (when agree response categories are collapsed) being “strongly agree”.

Hypothesis X is therefore confirmed by the data presented in Table 4.10, female ANC supporters do support the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action to a greater extent than female DA supporters. Once again political party support appears to be an independent variable in the study.

Education is tested below to see if it causes differences between women with regards to their opinions on the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action. This is done by testing the hypothesis XI:

- XI. “Women who have matriculated or received a tertiary education are seen to oppose the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action more so than those who have had no schooling or only completed primary schooling.”

Table 4.11: Responses by women who have matriculated or received agree tertiary education as well as women who have completed primary school or have no schooling to the statement: “White women should be removed from the category of ‘designated groups’ who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action”

	No schooling	Primary school completed	Matric	Tertiary completed
n	63	121	538	184
Strongly agree	18.2%	13.3%	12.5%	9.2%
Agree	21.7%	30.3%	17.6%	29.1%
Neither agree or disagree	42%	27.1%	28.1%	21.7%
Disagree	15.4%	24%	28.3%	28.9%
Strongly disagree		2.2%	12.4%	10.5%
Don't know	2.8%	3.3%	1.1%	0.5%
Refused				

When it comes to agreeing with the statement all the education groups are seen to have fairly similar “agree” response rates all of them being between 30% and 40% except for the “primary school completed” category which had a 43.6% “agree” response rate. The last three education groups are also seen to be similar with regards to their “neither agree or disagree” response rates, all of them being in the 20% bracket. Females with no schooling are seen to have very high “neither agree or disagree” response rates (42%) and this has caused this education category to differ greatly from the other categories with regards to the disagree response rates. Due to the females who completed primary school having a larger agree response rate it has also meant that it differs from the last two groups with regards to disagreeing. The females that have achieved their matric as well as completed their tertiary education are seen to have the highest disagree response rates (strongly disagree and disagree categories are collapsed) with 40.7% of those with matric disagreeing and 39.4% of those having completed their tertiary education disagreeing with the statement. With regards to moderate and extreme opinions despite the females with no schooling having a high “neither agree or disagree” response rate, when studying their ‘disagree’ response rates 18.2% of the 39.9% of this group who disagreed did so strongly. This proportion shows that this group had a fairly extreme opinion.

The data in Table 4.11 shows that the hypothesis XI is confirmed. The more educated females were seen to oppose the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action to a greater extent than females with less education. But an important point that needs to be made is that despite a large amount of educated women opposing the exclusion of white women a large number of this group was also seen to support this exclusion. These support rates were seen to be very similar to the support rates of females who had no schooling and the only way these two began to differ was that the females with no schooling had a much higher neutral response rate of “neither agree or disagree”. This neutral response rate could obviously swing either way to that of support or opposition.

Hypothesis XII is the final hypothesis tested in this Chapter:

- XII. “Women who earn higher incomes support the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action to a greater extent than women who earn lower incomes.”

This hypothesis tries to discern whether income levels cause differences between women with regards to their opinions on the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action.

Table 4.12: Responses of women earning higher incomes as well as women earning lower incomes to the statement: “White women should be removed from the category of ‘designated groups’ who receive the benefits of Affirmative Action”

	Up to R1199	R1200 to R2499	R2500 to R4999	R5000 to R7999	R8000 to R11999	R12000 to R17999	R18000 plus
n	439	325	253	135	102	91	95
Strongly Agree	16.3%	19.5%	12.3%	9.0%	4.8%		7.4%
Agree	27.2%	20.1%	26.1%	19.9%	10.7%	6.6%	11.6%
Neither agree or disagree	30.5%	35.0%	26.4%	21.6%	21.0%	18.1%	15.3%
Disagree	17.6%	19.6%	27.4%	29.6%	32.3%	44.2%	41.8%
Strongly disagree	4.6%	2.6%	5.2%	19.0%	30.5%	29.4%	23.3%
Don't know	3.8%	3.3%	2.5%	0.4%	0.6%		0.5%
Refused				0.5%			

The income groups differ greatly in Table 4.12. When the “strongly agree” and “agree” categories are collapsed one sees that the income categories form two separate groups. The first group consists of the Up to R1199, R1200 to R2499 and R2500 to R4999. The females within these three groups were all seen to have fairly high “agree” response rates all of them being between 30% and 40%. The second group consisted of the R8000 to R11999, R12000 to R17999 and R18000 plus. All the females within this group were seen to have “agree” response rates of below 20%. The females earning between R5000 to R7999 were seen to fall in the middle having a 28.9% “agree” response rate. When the “strongly disagree” and “disagree” response rates were collapsed one could see an increase in these rates from the lower incomes to the higher incomes except for the last two categories where R1200 to R17999 (73.6%) was seen to have a higher disagree response rate than the R18000 plus income category (65.1%). Interestingly enough the group that was seen to disagree the most strongly was the R8000 to R11999 group (30.5%). Only 22.2% of females earning up to R1999 a month and R1200 to R2499 a month disagreed with the statement. The other income groups were seen to fall in the middle. One can also see that the lower income groups had much higher “neither agree or disagree” response

rates showing that they were more neutral or were undecided than the higher income groups.

Hypothesis XII is therefore confirmed women earning higher incomes (from R8000 and above) are generally seen to support the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action to a much greater extent than women earning lower incomes. One could argue that income can therefore be classified as independent variable in the study.

4.3 Data Analysis

Now that the data above has been studied and all the hypotheses have either been confirmed or refuted one can start asking why South Africans feel the way they do with regards to the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action as well as why certain demographics do not play the role of independent variables in the study while others do.

Firstly one could see that generally South Africans were not seen to support the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action. However when one studies the racial composition of the respondents of the survey one sees that 75.5% of the respondents were African. Table 4.2 showed that the majority of Africans supported the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action therefore if they were seen to be the majority of the total respondents their view would obviously represent the general South African population's view.

The data shows that race, political party support, income and education are all components of the larger composite independent variable affecting the opinion's of South Africans towards the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action. But one can also argue that certain of these variables play a more significant role than others. Race can be argued as playing the most significant role as an independent variable. This is shown by the analysis below.

The most interesting finding that the data reveals when one studies the demographic variables in order to identify which of them act as independent variables is the fact

that no large differences exist between South African men and women. Table 4.7 shows that when both sexes are asked whether white women should be included in Affirmative Action the largest difference between their answers is only 4%. Table 4.8 also tests the difference between men and women within race by studying the answers of white men and women. Though the differences between them are slightly larger than the general South African population one can still see that over 60% of both white men and white women are seen to disagree with the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action. After studying the answers of African men and women to the same statement answered by whites of both sexes one can see that African men and women have remarkably similar answers. Here the majority of African men and women are seen to agree with the exclusion of white women from Affirmative action yet both are also seen to have large neither disagree and agree response rates that only differ by 1.2%.

One of the possible reasons for the similarity between men and women is because of the significant role race plays as an independent variable. Table 4.1 shows the racial divide that exists between the responses of Africans and whites with regards to white women and Affirmative Action. One of the explanations given for the existence of this divide is because of South Africa's history of Apartheid where whites and Africans have always seen to be on opposing sides. Due to race playing such an important role it is possible that men and women of the same races are seen to bond together in their responses as the feelings of opposition races have towards each other especially whites and Africans overrides any differences that might exist between the sexes.

By arguing that race affects gender one can explain why Table 4.6 shows that a slight majority of men and women were both seen to support the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action. This can be done by studying the table below which shows the racial composition of the respondents in the survey.

Table 4.13: Racial composition of respondents in the survey

	n	
African	2000	75.5%
White	937	13.8%
Coloured	390	8.2%
Indian	170	2.5%

Table 4.13 shows that three quarters of the respondents in the survey were Africans. Despite the opposing views of whites, coloureds and Indians shown above this majority's (African) responses would obviously be seen to be the general response trend of the larger South African population due to race playing the role of a significant independent variable.

Race as a significant independent variable is not only seen to affect the responses of gender but also the responses of the demographic variables of income, education and political party support who were all seen to be independent variables in their own right. Table 4.14 shows the racial composition of income groups, education groups and political party support.

Table 4.14: Racial composition of income groups, education groups and political party support

	African	White	Coloured	Indian	Totals
n	2000	937	390	170	3497
Income groups:					
Up to R1199	94.3%	0.5%	4.7%	0.4%	100%
R1200 to R2499	89.5%	2.0%	7.0%	1.5%	100%
R2500 to R4999	77.6%	7.5%	10.6%	4.3%	100%
R5000 to R7999	44.8%	24.9%	22.4%	8.0%	100%
R8000 to R11999	19.3%	57.8%	16.1%	6.8%	100%
R12000 to R17999	9.8%	76.4%	8.2%	5.6%	100%
R18000 plus	5.7%	81.7%	7.5%	5.1%	100%
Education groups:					
No schooling	97.6%	0.2%	2.2%	0%	100%
Primary school completed	88.3%	0.4%	8.9%	2.4%	100%
Matric	67.0%	22.5%	6.3%	4.1%	100%
Tertiary education completed	43.0%	46.2%	8.6%	2.2%	100%
Political party support:					
ANC	94.4%	0.7%	4.1%	0.8%	100%
DA	10.6%	66.7%	13.4%	9.3%	100%
IFP	94.9%	3.6%	0.8%	0.8%	100%
NNP	9.3%	37.2%	47.7%	5.9%	100%
PAC	87.2%	8.7%	4.1%	0%	100%
ID	4.4%	48.1%	44.7%	2.7%	100%
FF	10.5%	86.4%	3.1%	0%	100%
UDM	92.2%	5.4%	1.5%	1.0%	100%

Table 4.14 shows that the lower income groups up to R5000 to R7999 are seen to be dominated by the African population. When one moves to the higher income groups one sees that whites dominate these categories with 81.7% of respondents earning R18000 plus being whites. The polarization in opinions that exists between these low income groups and the high income groups can therefore be explained by this racial composition. The lower income groups that support the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action are dominated by Africans while the higher income groups that oppose this exclusion are dominated by whites.

This conclusion can also be used to explain the differences that exist between the education groups analysed in the study.

One can see that in the ten years since Apartheid the education situation has improved for the African population yet a lot still needs to be done. This improvement can be seen with 67.0% of respondents with a matric being African while 43.0% of respondents having completed a tertiary education also being African. But on the other hand one can also see that 97.6% of respondents that have not had any form of schooling are African. One can see that in Table 4.5 there were similarities between the education groups “agree” response rates yet they differed largely in their “neither agree or disagree” response rates which then affected their “disagree” response rates. A reason for this similarity in the agree response rates is because as one can see except in the tertiary completed category, where Africans and whites dominate fairly equally, this group dominated the other education categories.

Tables 4.1 shows that generally Africans had much higher “neither agree or disagree” response rates when answering questions. This would tie in with the high “neither agree or disagree responses” of the lower education groups as Table 4.14 shows that Africans dominate these groups to the greatest extent. But another possible reason for the high neither disagree or agree response rates is because the lower education groups do not really feel qualified enough to have an opinion but instead of responding with “don’t know” they rather “neither agree or disagree”. This reason is supported by the fact that over forty percent of respondents who received no schooling (40.4%) when asked if white women should be included in Affirmative Action responded by neither agreeing or disagreeing. This argument is also supported by the fact that the matric and tertiary completed groups had much lower “neither agree or disagree” response rates.

This interpretation would then also explain why generally Africans give high “neither agree or disagree” response rates when compared to the other race groups (Table 4.1). The majority of Africans in the survey are seen to have very low levels of education which in turn could lead them to responding by “neither agreeing or disagreeing” due to them not feeling that they are qualified to have an opinion on the issue. This argument is supported by the fact that when only African people within the four

education groups were asked what their opinions were on the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action one could see approximately a 15% difference between Africans who had no schooling and those who had completed a tertiary education. This interpretation points to the possibility that education plays the role of a more significant independent variable in the study which overrides the influence of race.

When it comes to political party support one can see that Table 4.14 suggests that race is seen to be a more significant independent variable than political party support as the parties that differ from one another are seen to differ from each in terms of their racial composition. Table 4.3 shows that the ANC, PAC, IFP and UDM supporters all support the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action and Table 4.14 shows that these supporters are all mostly African. The DA, NNP, FF and ID are seen to oppose the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action as shown in Table 4.3 and these parties support are dominated by whites and coloureds who are seen to have similar opinions when presented with the statement.

Another interesting finding that has emerged from analysing the data above is that no large differences were seen to exist amongst the different age groups. This lack of difference between the age groups is explained when one studies the racial composition of these groups. One sees that the African majority of respondents are fairly evenly spread across all age groups, with all these groups from 16 to 50 plus having over a 60% composition of African people. This large domination of all age groups by the African respondents corresponds with the fact that the majority of all age groups are seen to support the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action.

The analysis therefore shows that out of the components making up the composite independent variable that affect South African's attitudes towards white women's inclusion in Affirmative Action; race and education can be argued as being more significant independent variables than income and political party support.

One could therefore argue that the significant role race especially plays in the study may make income and political party support intervening variables and not

independent variables forming part of the composite independent variables in the study.

4.4 Conclusion

As one can see the findings from the Markinor survey are interesting and unforeseen in a number of ways.

Firstly despite the Helen Suzman foundation survey in 2001 finding that the majority of South Africans oppose Affirmative Action irrespective of race, the Markinor survey finds that the majority of South Africans support the exclusion of white women from Affirmative Action which hints at the fact that these respondents support the government's Transformation policies as a whole rather than the Affirmative Action policies.

This phenomena takes one back to Chapter two which shows the inconsistencies that exist between the Employment Equity Act and the Black Economic Empowerment Act. These inconsistencies are exemplified when one sees that the majority of South Africans do not support the Employment Equity which includes women but do support the Black Economic Empowerment Act which excludes white women yet both are classified as legislation aimed at uplifting the previously disadvantaged.

The second interesting finding made in this chapter is that there is no difference between South African men and women with regards to their opinions on the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action. Finally the last interesting finding is the large divide that exists between race groups especially Africans and whites in South Africa. Race may be argued as playing the role of the most significant independent variable in the study influencing all the other demographic variables.

The other demographic variable that could be classified as playing a more significant role as an independent variable than income and political party support is education. This finding is fairly promising as the possibility exists that in the future education could replace race as the most significant independent variable affecting South

African's opinions regarding the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action.
This could help in narrowing the broad racial divide that exists in South Africa.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

There is no denying the fact that since 1994 women have made giant strides in both the public and the private sectors achieving an increased presence at all levels in a number of institutions as well as greater participation in decision-making processes.

One can also not ignore the fact that a large reason for these successes is due to legislation introduced by the ANC government such as Affirmative Action discussed in Chapter two, which has strived to ensure the empowerment of women in the employment sector. Affirmative Action has assisted many women in changing the stereotypes existing in the labour market and by doing so transforming this sector and allowing the upward mobility of women who are seen to have the same access to job opportunities as their male counterparts (Mdladlana, 1999: 2).

Yet despite these successes one cannot ignore the glaring inconsistencies that exist surrounding the position of white women in the ANC government's Affirmative Action policies. These inconsistencies become apparent when answering the research questions introduced in Chapter one.

When studying Affirmative action legislation and the government's new Transformation legislation which includes the Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Act in Chapter two, one sees that the main goals of both pieces of legislation is the upliftment of those who have been previously disadvantaged through the equitable representation of all in the South African employment sector. In order to ensure that those who had suffered under Apartheid received their share when it came to this representation both pieces of legislation give preferential treatment in terms of employment opportunities to these previously disadvantaged groups.

But despite both their overarching aims being similar one can see that Affirmative Action and Black Economic Empowerment differ in terms of which groups they classify as being previously disadvantaged. Both strongly agree on the fact that

African people should be entitled to preferential treatment and both pieces of legislation classify the coloured and Indian populations as being part of this African group. Disabled people irrespective of race are also classified as being entitled to gain preferential treatment but where these two pieces of legislation differ is with regards to the inclusion of white women. While affirmative action includes white women in the designated group classified for getting preferential treatment Black Economic Empowerment does not.

The fact that two of the most important pieces of legislation with regard to empowering those who were previously discriminated against contradict one another in terms of who are entitled to receive these benefits has far reaching implications. What makes the situation even more problematic is the fact that the Employment Equity Act outlaws the discrimination of any group in South Africa the Black Economic Empowerment Act appears to discriminate against white women.

When one tries to answer the second set of research questions introduced in Chapter one these inconsistencies remain. By studying arguments put forward by a number of academics Chapter three tried to answer the following two questions, “What are the reasons for the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action?” and “Do these reasons justify white women’s inclusion in this legislation?”.

When answering the first question the academics cited in the text gave a number of reasons for why white women should be included in Affirmative Action one of these being that white women were also denied access to a large area of the employment sector during Apartheid and were pressured to accept the role of homemaker as being their only option to a large degree. When answering the second question inconsistencies between the various academic’s arguments become rife. While some argue that the above discrimination justifies the inclusion of white women in Affirmative action others argue that when this discrimination is compared to the discrimination endured by black women during Apartheid this justification becomes questionable. Many academics such as Baden, Hasim and Meintjies (1998) also argue that white women were one of the main oppressors of African women through the madam-maid relationships that existed in most white South African households.

Chapter three highlights the arguments made by certain academics that white men are using the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action to hang on to the many benefits they enjoyed under Apartheid. Yet when studying the incomes of both African and white women after the introduction of Affirmative Action as well as the cases studies presented in Chapter three one can question the validity of academic's arguments that white women are benefiting from Affirmative Action to the disadvantage of African women.

These various arguments as well as both the case studies presented in Chapter three make answering the second question mentioned above very difficult especially when trying to maintain an objective position. While the academics arguing against the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action present a strong case when studying the actual experiences of white women under Affirmative Action the validity of some of these arguments become questionable.

By studying the opinions of the general South African population which was done in the previous Chapter in order to see how they feel about the inclusion of white women in Affirmative action, this thesis was seen to add an entirely new scope to the study. Chapter four therefore tried to answer the third set of research questions introduced in Chapter one namely "Does the general South African population agree with the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action?"

After studying the response rates of the general South African population Chapter four found that the South African population was generally seen to oppose the inclusion of white women in Affirmative action. What is important to note is that this majority was marginal with a large proportion of the South African population not taking any real position on the issue.

Chapter four also succeeded in answering the second research question in the set namely that certain demographic variables do affect the South African's opinions on the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action. The main demographic seen to affect South African's opinions is race. The data in Chapter four found that especially Africans and whites were highly polarized in their opinions regarding the inclusion of white women. Another demographic variable that was seen to play a role as a

significant independent variable was education as there were large differences between those with lower levels of education when compared with those who were seen to have obtained higher levels of education. Chapter four found that political party support and income also played the role of independent variables but less significantly than race and education. Race, education, income and political party support were therefore classified as being components forming the larger composite independent variable affecting South African's attitudes towards the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action. The demographic variables of gender and age were found not to be independent variables in the study and were rather dependent on the effect of race.

The answers to the last set of questions would make one lean towards the arguments put forward by academics in Chapter three opposing the inclusion of white women in Affirmative Action as one sees that the general South African population who have actually experienced the effects of Affirmative Action are also seen to feel this way. Yet when one sees that 75.5% of the respondents were black and that race affects the opinions of South Africans with Africans opposing the inclusion of white women in Affirmative action the objectivity of academics arguments as well as the general South African's response rate becomes questionable.

What is very clear is that Affirmative Action and Black Economic Empowerment do not correspond with each other with regards to the inclusion of white women in the designated groups classified as being previously disadvantaged. This clear inconsistency and confusion existing at the government level may affect and extend to the opinions of the general South African population and Chapter three as well as Chapter four shows that this has occurred. This inconsistency may intensify the polarization of opinions between a number of population groups in South Africa and by doing so threatened the goal of democratic consolidation the ANC government so badly wants to achieve.

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